

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Strengthening the Home Front

LOCAL self-government is our oldest political institution and it should be the most vigorous." In a single sentence the Commission on State Government Organization, in its recent report to the General Assembly and Governor of Connecticut, expressed both a truth and a hope about the American system of government that deserve our concern.

The essential genius of our American system rests on local self-government in our states and home towns. Effective and respected local government with an informed and participating citizenry is the surest defense against the erosion of democracy from within and the overthrow of our system from without. It is as well the best assurance against the foundering of our system through increasing top-heaviness due to the unchecked flow of initiative, responsibility and function from the lower to the upper levels of government.

While from all reports state reorganization in Connecticut is at the moment dead, the need remains insistent and alive. And no need is more pressing in Connecticut than provision for constitutional home rule for towns and cities. When one contemplates this fact, and the present setup of the Connecticut state government with its 200-odd separate disunited parts both unmanaged and unmanageable by any central authority, one realizes how real is the need for action.

The task which is presently before the citizens of Connecticut is the same one that is before the citizens

of every other state—to discover how to achieve a responsible, manageable government whose burdens do not grow heavier every year. The way of renewal everywhere in the land is the way of reinvigorating state and local self-government.

At the home front stands the individual citizen who is the ultimate sovereign authority in our republic. His communal needs are the reason for the government; his aspirations define its reach and rule. Woodrow Wilson once asserted that self-government is "not a mere form of government. . . . It is a form of character." Thus the character of our system depends upon the character and, in particular, the devotion and participation of our citizens.

Citizen participation is the ultimate source of public power as well as the inspiration in any effort to strengthen the home front. The best way to develop the habit of citizen participation is to begin with some organized citizen effort for an important reform like home rule or a new city charter.

It was just such organized citizen action that raised Cincinnati from the rank of the worst governed to that of one of the best governed cities in the United States, an improved rank which has been maintained because the city won a good charter and the citizens stayed on the job through the City Charter Committee to make that charter give the kind of service it was designed for. It was that kind of organized citizen action that finally won the almost

century long battle for a new state constitution in New Jersey and more recently won for the communities of that state a new set of badly needed optional charters.

It may very well be the failure as yet of any similar cross-section organized citizen support to develop around the proposals of the Connecticut Commission on State Government Organization or any specific modified version of those proposals that made it possible for the Connecticut legislature to adjourn in a manner that justified a recent Hartford *Courant* editorial, "Another Special Session Goes Up in Smoke."

The experience of New Jersey, as one laboratory in constitutional democracy, may be instructive to the citizens of Connecticut and other states who have met with reverses in the effort to revise the fundamental structure of state government or to achieve home rule for cities and towns. Our first word is to be of good cheer, "you may have lost the skirmish but not the war."

From the outset in New Jersey we recognized that constitutional revision is inherently the people's business. It must become a people's crusade for a people's charter.

A state will never get constitutional revision or thoroughgoing reorganization on the initiative and by the sole action of the established party organizations and elected officials. Nor even by determined leadership from elected officials, or the governor himself. Nor by the labors or leadership of the bench and bar. Nor by an effort to secure partisan advantage from its ultimate accomplishment. Nor by any effort to rush

the program through to a vote without full and ample discussion.

The ingredients of a successful citizens campaign are many.

First of all it must begin at the grass roots, be sustained at the grass roots, and the final achievement must be related to the grass roots.

There must be a citizens committee that represents a true cross-section of every important element in the community who must feel that they have a full opportunity to express their views and that their views will be respected and considered.

Contact, consultation, cooperation and communication—these are four "C's" of such an effort. And the fifth is *cash*!

Constitutional revision or any other worthwhile reform costs money! There is no use pretending that a long term citizens campaign can be conducted without money and staff. It can't.

Finally, it takes time, planning, patience and perseverance and the volunteer efforts of countless citizens who have been caught up with a vision of service to their state and the generations to follow.

Only through such devoted non-partisan organized citizen action can the common good be heard above the clamor of special interests. Only through such action can democracy's home front in its home towns be kept strong and healthy.

Adapted from address by SPENCER MILLER, JR., New Jersey highway commissioner and president-elect of American International College, Springfield, Massachusetts, at Northeast Regional Conference on the Council-Manager Plan, New Haven, Connecticut, June 2.

Future of an Oversize City

Director of Mayor's Committee on Management Survey lists problems New York must solve if it is to remain great.

By LUTHER GULICK*

NEW York City is the governmental heart of a metropolitan area of fourteen million men, women and children, of whom slightly under eight million live in the central city. While the very center of this human cyclotron is losing population, the outer rings are still expanding at such a dynamic rate that the entire metropolis is bursting out all over.

The people of New York make their income from commerce, management, finance, small industries involving high skill and rapid style change, and from servicing the population of the area and the visitors who stream in to thrill to the benefits New York enjoys as a matter of habit. The level of income is far above the national average and has the distinction of being the highest level attained for a large mass of

population anywhere in the world at any time in history. While this is due in part to favorable geographic location, to a world trade economy, to past history and the energy and imagination of our forebears, it is not maintained without three important factors:

(1) The peoples of this area work at a higher level of creative output than do other populations. If commutation time is counted, they also work longer hours than most city populations though the extra time is not directly productive;

(2) The enterprise of the area is more competitive and diversified, and therefore more elastic and quickly adaptable in meeting the changes of a changing world, than in other centers; and

(3) The services and the tools with which the population works are more advanced, more modernized, more technological than in any other similar situation. Among these higher levels of service are those of the city government.

Neither New York City nor any other area can make a living by taking in its own wash, that is, by mutual internal services. To exist we must render indispensable service to the rest of the national economy and to the world. For every five workers in New York, two work for the outside economy.

How do we know that New York is "oversize"? We call boys and girls

*Dr. Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, has been made executive director of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, recently appointed by Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City. Well known in the field of public administration and research, Dr. Gulick has held important government wartime posts, among them director of the Office of Organizational Planning of the War Production Board, consultant to the National Resources Planning Board and member of the President's Commission on Administrative Management. He was a member of the U. S. Reparations Mission staff at Moscow, Potsdam, Tokyo and other cities during 1945-46. This article is based on Dr. Gulick's address before the League of Women Voters of New York City, May 23, 1950.

"overgrown" when they have shot up fast, outgrowing their clothes and shoes, and when they display a gawky awkwardness for a time. Then they stop rapid growth, their nervous system catches up, and the girls become graceful and beautiful women and the boys become well coordinated and vigorous men.

An Over-size City

By these standards New York is overgrown. The greater city is now just over 50 years old though the old city was incorporated in 1653. The population growth by decades since 1900 reads like this: 39 per cent, 18 per cent, 23 per cent, 7.6 per cent, and about 4.5 per cent in the last decade. We have certainly outgrown housing, water supply, schools and hospitals. And, like a small boy whose feet foreshadow his stature, New York has burst out of its shoes, that is, its means of locomotion—streets, subways and other transport facilities. It is choked by its own traffic.

While these statistics might indicate that the city may have come to the end of its growth, this is illusory. The census gets this result only by counting people in bed where they sleep. Even so, it is only the inner city which has stopped growing while the periphery—the suburbs—is still expanding at a rapid rate, so that the total metropolitan area will probably show a growth of about 10 per cent in this past decade. There is still every indication that the metropolitan area will go on growing for several decades to come.

Most city planners have been saying for at least a generation that

this area would and should now begin a population and economic decline. Mayor LaGuardia said that New York is too large and that we must take steps to reduce the town. The population experts put flies in a bottle and prove that nature will take care of the problem and bring us down to a reasonable figure.

And yet, people still come to the city; population still presses into the metropolitan area. And the people who come are the adventurous and the energetic, seeking to advance their own interests and to enhance their standards of living.

Why will New York continue to grow in all probability? For the simple reason that people like to be here. They are drawn by the higher income, the higher standard of living, the greater opportunities, higher concentration of economic and management power, the larger measure of personal freedom, the extraordinary wealth of association, the diversity and quality of leisure time activities, and the amenities of individual and communal life.

There is, I think, something even more fundamental in the growth of the great city. Aristotle put his finger on it over two thousand years ago when he said, "Man is by nature a political animal." The word he used for describing man's nature was from the Greek word meaning city. So he really said "man is by nature a city dweller." Bees live in hives, ants in hills, wolves in packs, certain birds in flocks and men—when they can—in cities.

What about the future? What are its major problems? These seem to

fall into four main categories: economic problems, having to do with the way we make our living; political problems, having to do with the way we govern ourselves; administrative problems, having to do with the way we organize and manage our government; and governmental policy problems, having to do primarily with what we do through government. It is this last set of problems which will be discussed here. Some of the things the city must face are these:

(1) *War and Peace.* Aerial warfare takes a hideous toll of the cities. The destruction of the physical fabric is more serious than is the disruption of the economic or social fabric. But in any future war, the destruction of the city will be far more extreme. This fact is of particular significance for New York City because of the propaganda value of an initial attack on this center. While this observation justifies special thought for dealing with disaster, it should redouble our efforts for peace and for those national policies of trade, finance, international cooperation and action which tend to eliminate and restrict the dangers of war.

(2) *Transportation.* I strongly suspect that the limiting factor not only for growth but for the maintenance of a high level of income, production and of the good life in this area is found in transportation. We are already stifling manufacturing, merchants, commerce and amusement activities by traffic congestion on and under the streets. We are already stretching out the working day, portal to portal, by approximately 45 to 100 minutes more than

it need be. This is a tremendous toll of our most precious resource, the energies of the people.

We will have to do some spectacular things about transportation. Even an expenditure of say three to five billion dollars for transit, traffic, street and freight improvements and housing located to prevent needless traffic, would probably pay out in a very few years and at the same time preserve some five billion dollars of downtown values which may otherwise disintegrate.

Cleanliness Problems

(3) *Water.* The lack of this can be appreciated when it is realized that New York City has enjoyed an excellent and abundant supply of water. While we know the value of cool, clear, soft water as individuals, we must not overlook its value also in industry and in the health and safety of the city as a whole. Water is also the great secret of economical city cleanliness, especially for the future, as we go more and more into mechanization of household and general city sanitation.

(4) *Air Pollution and Harbor Pollution.* Though these are costly to remedy the way out is clear. All that is required is some civic determination and the imposition of reasonable controls.

(5) *Housing and Slum Clearance* is an eternal problem, because all housing gets old with time, most housing gets obsolete as standards rise and much housing is neglected as to maintenance, especially when rents are fixed and profits to marginal landlords are wiped out between the pressure of rent limitations

on top and the rise of wages and costs below.

(6) *Port of New York.* This is one of our great assets provided world trade continues at a high level and that port efficiency is maintained at a level sufficiently high to absorb the higher per hour wage levels and higher rentals without producing higher costs. The city made a spectacular and imaginative step in this direction when it set up the Port of New York Authority in 1921. That was a stroke of economic and political genius. And the Port Authority has done wonders with its tunnels, bridges and inland terminals and is pressing forward similarly with the airports.

But at one point the Port Authority has come up against a stone wall, made up of the railroads on one side and of labor on the other. It is fortunate that the mayor has appointed a special committee to explore this situation before New York accidentally kills the goose while it squabbles over the golden eggs.

Expanding Education

(7) *Education.* The new pressures for schools and for the expansion of education come from the sudden rise of the birth rate, part of which seems to be temporary, and also from the increased appreciation of the value of education beyond high school designed to make the rising generation more effective workers, better citizens, better homemakers and better equipped to enjoy life. Then, too, more grown-ups reach for the gains which come from adult education. This question of how much income we can and must put

into education raises problems of deep significance, because education is apparently the ladder by which mankind rises from level to level in the process of civilization.

(8) *Health, hospitals and Medical Research.* No advance in city life in the past 50 years has been so spectacular as in the field of health. This remarkable advance is the direct result of medical research followed by professional public administration and general public education. In the field of health these three steps have done the trick: (1) research leading to a new technology, (2) technological administration free from politics, and (3) the mass education of the people to make good use of their rising economic resources.

We need a new concept of the health function in local government. With all the discoveries of medicine, psychology and sociology over the past generation, how sensible is it to confine the work of the city health department to communicable diseases? No city can exist without that basic health service but that alone is a poor utilization of what we now know about the conditions which will make a happy, efficient and hard-working human being in the environment of the great city.

(9) *Zoning, Building Codes and Planning.* The city undertakes to restrict private enterprise and individual initiative in construction as a protection for the community as a whole and for the safety and values of the neighbors. There are always three dangers: that we will end up by protecting special privilege rather than the community, that we will

fail to accept new developments as promptly as we should, and that we will underrate the creative force of private enterprise in community planning, once the broad outlines have been determined through cooperative public and private action.

We must watch our step, because in our kind of world bad plans are worse than no plans. We are not yet very skillful at relating our activities in housing, speedways, streets, subways, tunnels, bridges and schools to the fundamental economic and social structure by which we live. That is why we must see that revised zoning, up-to-date building codes and planning of a distinctly higher level are major problems for the future. But we must not throttle that future by too great confidence in our own timidity.

Crime an Urban Problem

(10) *Crime*. We are now in the midst of a new nation-wide review of a rising tide of organized and of juvenile crime. Congress and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are deeply concerned. Various governors have started investigations and the mayors of the larger cities called for help over a year ago. In New York recent disclosures have shocked us into a new awareness.

Crime is peculiarly a problem for the great urban areas, not because city people are more vicious than are country people but because the freedom and anonymity of city life relax the immediate controls of family and community. Also the congestion of the city, the lack of "chores" for city youth and the tawdriness and passivity of amusements, even

if one has some spending money, bottle up the atomic energy of youth to a dangerous degree. But, whatever the causes, we face in the challenge of crime an old problem in a new guise, which will demand our best thinking in the immediate future.

(11) *Cleanliness*. I put this last, because it sums up so much that has gone before—water and air and housing, health and education, even crime—these are all related to this question of plain decent cleanliness.

My heart is sad when I see the thoughtless filth of this city. The matchless Hudson River, the green Sound and the blue harbor are open sewers; the air is often choking and filthy; the streets are wind tunnels of litter.

It is easy to blame some of this on the city government. But progress is being made and will be both significant and expensive over the years. But the real trouble is right at home in the habits of the people.

We are a literate people, so nearly everybody reads the newspaper—and then drops it in the subway or on the street. We go to extremes in wrapping everything to guarantee that each candy, stick of gum, loaf of bread, handkerchief or what have you reaches the customer in sanitary condition—and then the wrapper is dropped just anywhere.

The filthy river and the grimy and fume laden air can be cured by engineering and by the imposition of controls. This will take time and money, but it will be done.

Similarly the street cleaning and the waste disposal problems will be solved as soon as we get to work on

the engineering problems involved. What we need is more and better mechanization as well as some controls.

But what about the habits of the people? What may we expect from the homes and the schools? As to this, though thoroughly disgusted right now, I am still an optimist. But isn't it time we started to make private cleanliness in public a habit from which the city dweller gets personal satisfaction as he does from any other decency of human behaviour?

These are the great problems with which the city must wrestle. Every one but war is primarily a local problem, which cannot be solved except with the aid of the city government. That is why city government, and efficient city government, is of such importance. And that is why Mayor O'Dwyer has set up his Committee on Management Survey.

Mayor's Committee

Chairman of the committee is Comptroller Lazarus Joseph. The mayor has enlisted also the aid of other top city officials, of career city employees, of representatives of business, finance, labor and the professions, and the leaders of the major civic organizations.

The first management survey which the committee has launched, and which has received the approval of the Board of Estimate to the tune of \$220,000, is the study of taxation and city finance. This is precisely the project which the League of Women Voters of New York City suggested two years ago, with the aid and collaboration of eleven other civic groups which met under its call.

In this field of finance and taxation, as well as in all the others which the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey will tackle, the experts will not come up with final and conclusive answers on all matters. The technical experts and engineers will give us the facts. They will give us the value of their best judgment based on experience, with many new and creative ideas.

But, in the end, the committee, the mayor and board of estimate, and the citizens of New York will have to make the really important policy decisions; and they will have to furnish the will to act. A management survey can give us knowledge, it can give us outlines for better methods, but it cannot dictate the decisions, it cannot produce the determination to do something.

How Tammany Holds Power

Democratic machine can smother all opposition because New York primary laws permit a party to make its own rules.

By JUSTIN N. FELDMAN*

TAMMANY Hall may consider the New York primary law a nuisance but never an obstacle. The long cherished hopes of Charles Evans Hughes which eventually developed into New York State's primary election system have been completely frustrated by failure of the law to prescribe rules for the internal management of political parties.

How does the notorious Tammany Hall organization operate to perpetuate its control of the party's machinery despite a direct primary law. It should be made perfectly clear at the outset that, while this story deals with the Democratic party organization on Manhattan Island (New York County), the techniques described and, yes, even some of the incidents, are often duplicated in the Republican party.

Tammany Hall is the popular name for the executive committee organization in Manhattan. Once the dominant influence over the party organization in the entire city, Tammany has lost much of its power in recent years because of its failure to offer any real service to the voters, its loss of contact with the average

Democratic voter for whom it presumes to speak, the emergence in the other counties within the city of strong leaders, such as Ed Flynn in the Bronx, and the vehement denunciations it has had to withstand from many respected citizens.

Still, it is Tammany Hall which, by controlling the party machinery, designates the party's candidates for public office. It is Tammany which sends large delegations to the all-important state and national nominating conventions. It is Tammany which dispenses whatever city, state and federal patronage falls to the Democrats. And it is Tammany which, under the election law, is authorized to make the rules by which the party in Manhattan is governed.

In Manhattan the Democratic vote regularly exceeds that of the Republican party. In most areas of the island a victory in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election. As less than 10 per cent of the Democrats in any given area of Manhattan ever vote in even the most hotly contested primary, Tammany, capitalizing on apathy, on its control of the machinery and on the obstacles it knows how to put in the way of insurgents, rules the roost.

Manhattan has sixteen assembly districts, each of which elects a representative to the lower house of the legislature. Each assembly district is divided into election districts

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(voting precincts) on the basis of the number of registered voters in the area. The number of election districts varies from 28 in the fourteenth assembly district to 105 in the fifth. The boundaries of the various assembly districts and of the election districts are set by the city council, which is commonly controlled by the Democratic party, and Tammany can thereby gerrymander the boundaries to suit its own convenience.

District Leaders

Each of Manhattan's sixteen assembly districts has one vote in the party's executive committee and is represented there by at least one district leader and a woman co-leader, sometimes more. The co-leader is entitled to divide the district's vote and cast her portion as she likes but by force of long tradition she usually remains in the background and exercises her vote in accordance with the wishes of her leader. The value of the district's vote on this executive committee depends further upon the number of leaders there are from that particular district. For the number of leaders and co-leaders who will be recognized and entitled to sit on this party executive committee with fractional votes is determined, not by statute or by the enrolled Democrats or by the geographical size or party registration of the assembly district, but by the whim or the carefully calculated design of the executive committee itself.

Most of the assembly districts in Manhattan have thus been carefully subdivided by the executive com-

mittee to the advantage of its veteran members. An assembly district may be represented on the executive committee or "in the hall" by two, three or even seven district leaders and an equal number of co-leaders. The assembly district in which I reside, for example, has seven leaders and seven co-leaders on the Tammany executive committee; each of these leaders and co-leaders is entitled to 1/14th of a vote.

The leader is an extremely important person. Aside from his countywide power as a member of "the hall," he helps control nominations in "his" county subdivisions which elect assemblymen, state senators, congressmen and certain judges.

But how is this key leader (executive committee member) chosen? In other counties of greater New York, Democratic district leaders are elected by the voters direct; likewise in other parties. But to make boss control of the party easier in Manhattan, the leader is not voted for in a party primary directly by the voters but is selected by the members of the county committee in his portion of the assembly district.

Now, let's look at this county committee. It is a massive barrier. By state law two county committeemen must be elected from each little election district. The party may by its rules provide such additional memberships on the county committee as its chairman deems desirable, so long as the additional membership for each election district is kept in proportion to the party vote for gover-

nor in the last gubernatorial race. So each election district in Manhattan elects some ten to twenty committeemen. The number of committeemen in each assembly district consequently comes to 1,125 or more!¹ Most of the members of the county committee are friends and relatives of the party's election district captains (whom the leader appoints) and don't even know they are on the committee, much less what its function and power may be.

Railroaded Action

In calling a meeting of the county committee members in his part of the assembly district, it is not uncommon for the leader to notify only those persons whom he knows to be friendly. Tammany Hall appoints the temporary chairman and secretary of the meeting. A script is prepared in advance and distributed to the "actors" who have been given particular parts for the evening. The chairman, working from a copy of his script, will only recognize those persons whose names appear on it although scores of other voters howl concertedly for a chance to speak or nominate. Often the meetings are held on the street. A truck is backed up in front of the local district club house. Passers-by are treated to a routine bit of mumbo-jumbo from the chairman on the truck. The stalwart Tammany committeemen who are present rubberstamp the top command's choice for leader. Who can prove that there, in the open air, no

quorum of county committeemen was present?

An insurgent seeking to elect sufficient county committeemen pledged to support him for leader has an almost insuperable task confronting him.

He must print and circulate nominating petitions bearing the names of a different slate of county committeemen for each little election district. If a name is misspelled on the petition, or if the signer uses an initial in signing instead of his full given name, or if the color of the petition differs in tint from the prescribed shade, or if the petition sheet uses an abbreviation in the name of an avenue or street, or if any one of several hundred pitfalls which have been read into the direct primary law are not avoided, the petitions will be whittled down and voided by the Board of Elections.

Under New York State law the Board of Elections is composed of four commissioners, two designated by the Democratic executive committees for the counties of New York and Kings (Brooklyn) and two by the Republicans. In all internal fights whereby the control of the dominant factions of the "regular" organizations are threatened, one hand very definitely washes the other.

If the insurgent candidate for leader succeeds nevertheless in getting his slates on the ballots, he must deal with the further difficulty that his name does not appear anywhere on the ballots, and the task of informing even an aroused electorate, so that they may pick out his ten or twenty supporters on the primary ballot, is extremely difficult.

¹The whole county has about 20,000 county committeemen. Except for one occasion in 1933, however, no meeting of the entire county committee has ever been attended by more than 500 persons.

Now, assume—if you can—that you have succeeded in electing a majority of the county committee in your bailiwick! Isn't that enough? Won't your candidate then be duly elected by the committeemen who have thus been pledged to vote for him? Surely if Tammany in calling the meeting has notified all of the persons entitled to attend, and if the persons whom you have elected attend, and if the Tammany-appointed chairman of the meeting acts fairly, and if the Tammany-appointed secretary of the meeting counts the votes accurately, and if the police repulse Tammany attempts to pack the meeting, you will elect the district leader? Oh, no! Not so simple! There are many other obstacles which Tammany may put in your way. They may do any of the following under the rules they have set up since the law empowers them to concoct their own rules:

You Can't Win!

Suppose you run a candidate for district leader in an assembly district which contains 99 election districts. There have always been three leaders in that district and the fellow you are anxious to oust is in charge of election districts one through 33. You file your petitions for those districts. You elect your slates for county committeemen in twenty of the 33 districts and are feeling pretty secure about the prospective meeting of the county committeemen when called to select the leader.

Tammany, however, has the right to decide *after* the primary that the man you opposed will now govern only thirteen safe districts and the

remaining twenty, wherein you were successful, will be added to the territory of the fellow who previously had the 33 adjoining election districts numbered 34 to 66. You now control only twenty districts out of the revised group of 53.

Under Tammany rules, the executive committee—that is, the other leaders—may sit as judge of the qualifications of its own members and may veto the choice made by the county committeemen and substitute a man of their own selection. And this decision, again under the rules, may be made by the outgoing executive committee on which the leader you opposed is entitled to vote.

But this is not all. They have other devices! In 1947 a group of Democrats in the fifteenth assembly district organized to elect a district leader. After a hard and bitter fight waged against a leader who had been in control of that particular district for fourteen years, they elected a majority of county committeemen. Through the use of pressure on other party leaders they were able to get acceptance for their choice by the executive committee.

Some months later, however, the Tammany county leader, chairman of both the county committee and its executive committee, called a meeting of the county committeemen of that assembly district and, accompanied by some of his strong-arm men, attended this meeting which was chaired by his designee. When he walked in, he distributed copies of a script for the meeting to his ac-

complices and the meeting went off like a well rehearsed radio program.

Following a line by line recital of the script, the assembly district, which had heretofore had only one district leader casting a full vote in the councils of the executive committee, was declared split. A second district leader was selected—someone whom nobody in the district had heard of. The meeting was declared adjourned and the master light switch was pulled so that the meeting could not continue and objectors could not be heard.

A new henchman of the dominant faction of Tammany had been installed and from that time forward the leader chosen by the county committeemen of the district no longer enjoyed a full vote in the executive committee but was relegated to a half vote, offset, of course, by the half vote of the newcomer.

Tricks of the Trade

In the 1949 primary an insurgent candidate in the first assembly district filed petitions in the election districts covered by two incumbent Tammany leaders. He won a majority of the election districts in one portion of the assembly district, but not in the second. When the meeting of the county committee was called,

he found that it was a combined meeting of both portions of the district and the majority he had in one section was completely swallowed up in the larger meeting.

There being sixteen assembly districts, one might think there would be a total of sixteen votes on the executive committee. But the chairman of the executive committee has an additional vote by virtue of his office. He has the further right to appoint—and remove—three sub-committee chairmen each of whom may cast a full vote in addition to his vote as a district leader. In this way the chairman controls four votes out of twenty.

All these extremely undemocratic methods are the result of a direct primary law which allows the party executive committee to make its own rules—rules that thus fortify tight clique control. It is in this way that a coterie of political leaders in Manhattan is able to frustrate insurgency, hold power for generations and select its successors. Those who are concerned with political and democratic techniques must turn their attention and that of the public to the important problem of ensuring democracy in the internal structure and machinery of parties.

Samuel S. Fels, Industrialist and Philanthropist, Dies at 90

Samuel S. Fels, honorary vice president and former League Council member, died June 23 in Philadelphia at the age of 90 after a brief illness.

Mr. Fels, who had functioned actively as president of the Fels Naphtha Soap Company until he went to the hospital June 8, was noted for his philanthropies and for the modesty which kept many of them from public notice. He was devoted to research, particularly in governmental affairs and medicine, financing many projects through the Samuel S. Fels Fund, of which Frederick P. Gruenberg is secretary-treasurer.

The Durable City Manager

'Henry Traxler won't last,' Janesville said 27 years ago, but he has brought economies and progress out of collapse.

By LEWIS C. FRENCH*

HENRY TRAXLER, the durable city manager of Janesville, will complete his 27th year in office next September 15.

Only one other municipal manager in the country, Herbert L. Woolhiser of Winnetka, Illinois, who took his job in 1917, has been on the job longer than the chief municipal executive of the Rock County seat.

The impressive aspect of City Manager Traxler's long term is that Traxler has stuck despite being continually subject to variable political whims and demands. Janesville residents take their politics seriously; a whisper at breakfast time about some political gripe becomes free wheeling gossip by lunch time and on every lip by dinner.

How does any municipal official remain in good standing with voters that long?

Traxler is both tough-crust and efficient. Henry has a valuable habit of using his impaired hearing to ignore insults and ride out every political storm. He outperforms and outlasts his political opponents. Those elected to the council to unseat him become converts.

*Mr. French has been reporter and writer on the *Milwaukee Journal* for the past 25 years. Previously he was employed on the *Janesville Gazette* where he was an observer of the city's political and civic campaigns, becoming familiar with the early administration of Mr. Traxler of whom he writes. His article is reprinted from the *Milwaukee Journal* of April 23.

The ride has been rough at times, including flare-ups in the police department where officers shouted about "dictatorship." But each election time voters looked at their low tax bills, the municipal improvements and the general efficiency, and continued to back their city manager.

To appreciate fully City Manager Traxler's record it is necessary to scan the Janesville scene before he came here.

Thirty years ago Janesville was a conservative, solid municipality of about 18,000 in a fertile farm area. It had top notch farmers and mixed industry, including the Parker Pen Company and the old Janesville Machine Company, both founded by residents.

Periodically in those days there were political fights in municipal elections. The population was about divided between Protestants and Catholics and it was solidly Republican. Ballots often were marked on religious lines.

Industry then was mostly non-unionized. Labor leaders drew unfriendly stares.

This pre-Traxler era was also the time of the spectacular boom of the Samson Tractor Company under the direction of William C. Durant, president of General Motors. The building of the tractor plant on the Spring Brook flats sent property values climbing and the population rising.

With a rather lordly air, Durant would make inspection trips with the city officials. He urged them to expand the hospital, build a new high school, pave streets and to plan for a city of 100,000. Janesville was going to have the world's biggest foundry and tractor plant. The city fathers gasped, but there was a general feeling that General Motors and Durant would pay the bill. The municipal budget soared.

But when a showdown came in farm implement manufacturing, the Ford Motor Company outdistanced GMC and left General Motors with a costly set of empty buildings at Janesville. The boom was over.

When the city fathers figured the cost of municipal improvements in the upswing, they shuddered at the thought of facing the taxpayers.

And smack into the middle of this situation stepped a young engineer with Jewish blood. At first Janesville was a bit flabbergasted and skeptical. There was many a knowing wink—"He won't last long." That was 27 years ago.

With that engineering mind of his Traxler went to work in the city hall to figure out a financial solution and a long time program. Even then there was a calm determination that the city would not slip back into a rut.

Traxler took a look at the Rock River. To the north was Goose Island, a swamp and garbage dump. Across the river was a bramble of woods; to the south another swamp, Monterey marsh, a haven for muskrats and at times ducks. On the drawing board he doodled a sketch

of a parkway that people could use and enjoy—somewhat of a dreamy hope—that is, if he lasted. He did and the dream is a reality—the Blackhawk Parkway program.

Traxler, born in Milwaukee, was graduated from the old East Division High School. His father, Max, came from Vienna and was in the coal business in Milwaukee. He died when the son was eighteen.

Played Movie House Drums

Traxler was graduated from the University of Wisconsin as a civil engineer in 1910. Music paid for most of his education. Henry was a bear with the drums. He and his brother Arthur attracted the attention of Thomas Saxe and Oscar Ostoff of Milwaukee, who hired the pair for their movie emporiums.

"Music is all right for fun and quick money but I am an engineer," reasoned the new graduate. He went to California and later became a consulting engineer in Clarinda, Iowa. Came the lean years and Traxler took the job as city manager of the Iowa city of 5,000. That was 34 years ago.

Janesville, weary of political turmoil, was one of the first to adopt the city manager type of government. The classmates of Henry Traxler at Wisconsin plugged for the young engineer in Iowa. Traxler got the job.

Janesville began pulling itself out of the collapse of the Samson Tractor Company. General Motors got out of the farm implement business. Durant was out as president. The Janesville plant was converted to a division of Chevrolet Motors, and

people went back to work. Janesville began a steady climb to around 26,000 population.

Janesville finally paid the boom bills. The people dug down for the hospital. The city soon found out its manager was a whiz at municipal finance.

"We couldn't do what we wanted in a year, but we made certain that there was money available to pay," says Traxler.

Municipal affairs were centralized. In the old days departments did their own purchasing and zealously guarded their equipment, stored most of the time.

Now the fire department buys all the hose, keeping the new and the best. The old is graded and passed down to do the rough work of the street department. The compressors at the waterworks and the street department digging machines are passed around. The graders when not working on streets are used on the parks.

"Saves money and gets the work done," says Traxler. "Just because an engineer is assigned to the waterworks is no reason why he cannot help on the public parks at times."

Sticks to His Job

Over the years Traxler poured oil on any troublesome municipal issues. Any robust kick aimed at him never got to a vote. It was smoothed out.

"One of the basic things to keep municipal harmony is to stick strictly to administrative and executive work, never butting in on council legislative matters," he says. "I hewed to that line from the start,

giving advice on municipal laws and legislation only when asked."

The miracle is how the city has done so much with so little money.

Janesville in 1922 had a valuation of \$28,800,000 and a tax rate of \$26.76 per thousand—the highest in 27 years.

Without any material increase in individual assessments in the last 20 years, the 1949 valuation was up to \$43,340,000 and the tax rate for both 1948 and 1949 at \$23.50 per \$1,000.

The city has no bonds outstanding. Nor does the city collect a cent for general city administration from the personal property taxes. It pays cash under a well documented budget system, generally figured a year in advance.

Keeps Taxpayers Satisfied

Total municipal receipts in 1948 were \$953,000 and only \$497,500 went on the tax rolls for general city administration. In 1949 the receipts topped \$1,151,000 with only \$660,000 on the municipal tax rolls and this year the budget is just over a million with \$625,000 coming from the general taxpayers.

"You cannot beat reasonable taxes," testify the Janesville residents. "Traxler and the council kept the rate down, far below the average of other cities in the state."

The lowest tax rate during the regime of Traxler as city manager was \$18 per thousand in 1932. "But look at the accomplishments," say Janesville citizens.

In 1923 there were 21.75 miles of paved streets. Now there are 84.56 miles. Only three and one-half miles in the city limits are unpaved.

There were 43½ miles of sanitary sewer when the city manager started. Now there are 74 miles.

There were less than eight miles of storm sewers and often there were flooded streets. Now there are 34½ miles carrying the rush of rain water to the river.

There are a modern water filtration and sewage treatment plant and artesian wells with a ten million gallon reservoir.

The parks are the pride of Janesville. The city acquired the Monterey marsh, filled in the land and built a stadium and athletic field. The land cost \$1,500. Donations and city planning at the old Goose Island dump transformed the area into a fine park. The river was shored up for a winter sports area.

Across the river is a municipal golf club better than the dues paying country club, a park for family picnics and a place for the youngsters to play.

On the fringe of the city is wooded La Prairie Park. Useless gravel pits from which much Wisconsin highway material came were put to public use. One is for trap-shooters and marksmen. The banker, pen grinder and automobile assembly plant worker have fun there.

The Lions Club sponsored another project. A second gravel pit has been converted into a bathing beach. As many as 7,000 use it. New bath-houses are being built. Donated land of the Palmer and Jeffris Parks has been landscaped and made useful.

Every old grade school in the city was replaced by a modern school. The city is planning a new high

school to cost more than three million dollars—on 45 acres adjoining Palmer Park. The present high school will go for a junior high school.

The 1950 budget calls for expansion of the sewage treatment plant. Every improvement scheduled will be paid for without upping the tax bill too much, the result of long time planning.

"Traxler makes every cent count. You would think it was his money the way he nurses it," say council members.

Those parks have had an effect. When Monterey district home owners saw that muskrat swamp blossom into a stadium park they got out the paint brush, rebuilt houses and planted gardens to the new river front.

This change so stirred Sam Grundy, tobacco dealer, that he bought a pet dog for the city manager's son, Sidney. "I never expected to see such a civic lift," said Grundy.

Labor Does Its Part

Janesville elections are still hotly contested but on more tolerant lines. You seldom hear any mention of religion.

More, the city found out union labor men as well as business and professional men think and act for civic improvement.

Five out of the present council of seven members have distinct labor background. The council members are elected at large, eliminating ward heeling politics.

"We work in full harmony and think of the city as a whole," says Harry Johnson, council president.

(Continued on page 343)

Virginia Reorganizes Again

Saves at least \$1,500,000 during past year and creates permanent post to make improvement process continuous.

By **RAYMOND B. PINCHBECK***

THE reorganization of state administration in Virginia, provided by the 1948 General Assembly and inaugurated by Governor William M. Tuck, should bring "annual savings conservatively estimated at \$1,500,000," according to Charles J. Duke, Jr., appointed by the governor to direct the reorganization program. And the surface has barely been scratched, Mr. Duke said when he presented his final report to the governor last November.

The reorganization came about as the result of a 1946 joint resolution of the Virginia General Assembly creating a Commission on Reorganization of the State Government under former U. S. Senator Thomas G. Burch, chairman. The commission, aided by Griffenhagen and Associates, consultants in public administration and finance, reported to the governor in December 1947. He presented proposals based on the report in a forceful address to the General Assembly in January.

A considerable number of the commission's recommendations were adopted by the 1948 legislature

which, in addition, took a significant step by providing for a technical staff to work out reorganization details. Governor Tuck appointed Mr. Duke, bursar of the College of William and Mary, as chief of staff to direct the program. He served until late in 1949. Mr. Duke and his technical assistants from Griffenhagen and Associates made nearly 30 detailed studies of state departments and agencies in the course of putting the reorganization program into effect.

Latest development is creation of the position of executive assistant to the governor by act of the 1950 legislature. This office is a permanent one, designed to carry on the reorganization plan continuously, and is providing a powerful drive for improvement in the operation of state agencies.

Governmental reorganization is not new to Virginia. One of the significant results of the report of the Virginia State Commission on Economy and Efficiency of 1916 was adoption of the state budget law in 1918. This beginning was undertaken at the time Illinois was receiving national recognition for reorganization under the leadership of Governor Frank O. Lowden.

In 1922 the Virginia Commission on the Simplification of the State Government was appointed by Governor E. Lee Trinkle, reporting its findings two years later. This

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was followed by two significant reports in 1927. One was on the proposed reorganization of the state government and the other on the reorganization of county government. Both were made by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research (now the Institute of Public Administration) under appointment by Governor Harry Flood Byrd. Governor Byrd named a constitutional commission of 38 citizens to study the 1927 reports and to make recommendations on constitutional amendments to effect the reorganization. The amendments passed by the General Assembly were adopted by the voters in 1928.

Agencies Consolidated

The reorganization of 1927-28 abolished more than 30 agencies and consolidated some 95 more into eleven departments and the governor's office: highways, education, conservation, corporations, agriculture, finance, health, industrial relations, law, welfare and taxation. It also included provision for the most modern system of state accounting, budgeting, pre-audit, post-audit and financial reporting. It placed the governor in the position of central control of the entire state government in a manner similar to the modern business corporation president. It shortened the ballot by making the superintendent of public instruction, judges of the corporation commission and the commissioner of agriculture appointive officials by the governor, subject to approval of the General Assembly.

The reorganization legislation authorized the General Assembly to

provide optional forms of county government which could be adopted by the voters in a given county. In 1932 the General Assembly enacted the optional forms act providing for the county manager and county executive forms of administration. The same General Assembly provided for uniform accounting systems in all counties, mandatory annual audits by the state auditor of public accounts or certified public accountants approved by him, for the publication of uniform statistical and accounting reports on all counties by the state auditor, for more adequate bond security for public county funds in the banks and held by public officials, and forbade county officials to maintain county funds in their private bank accounts.

Governor Byrd, in his message to the General Assembly in 1928, stated that the reforms actually adopted would save approximately \$800,000 annually. Two years later, however, State Budget Director J. H. Bradford is quoted as estimating actual savings at about \$450,000 annually.

During the depression years of the 1930s few efforts were made to reorganize state government further. The number of independent state agencies, which had been reduced to approximately 60 in 1927, increased to 68 by 1937—the Burch commission found at least 70 in 1947.

The 1934 General Assembly did create an Advisory Legislative Council for the study of governmental problems between legislative sessions, which has made many valuable studies, some of them bearing on

administrative reorganization. In 1942 the General Assembly adopted some of its recommendations—establishment of the Department of Mental Hygiene and Hospitals, Department of Corrections, a statewide system of probation and parole, a state retirement system and the beginning of a state personnel system.

1948 Recommendations

The Burch Commission on the Reorganization of the State Government recommended to the 1948 General Assembly that the 70 state agencies be reorganized into "eleven so-called operating departments to render direct services to the public, and six organizational units which render auxiliary, facilitative services to the operating departments. Some of the latter are placed in the governor's office because they have been and are so closely associated with so many of the administrative actions which the governor must take."

The commission outlined its proposed reorganization plan with three groupings of agencies under the governor: (1) Immediate office — secretaries, Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Division of the Budget, Division of Personnel; (2) departments with auxiliary staff functions—Accounts and Purchases, Treasury, Taxation; (3) departments rendering direct services to the public—Agriculture and Immigration, Alcoholic Beverage Control, Conservation and Development, Public Education, Labor and Industry and Employment Security, Health, Highways, Military Affairs, Professional and Occupational Registration, State Police, Welfare and Institutions.

The commission proposed to leave the Department of Corporations as an administrative agency headed by the Corporation Commission, which is elected by the General Assembly as provided by the constitution. No change was made in the office of the attorney general who is elected under the present constitution. The auditor of public accounts is elected by the General Assembly since his office is a legislative agency. No changes were proposed for administration of institutions of higher learning supported by the state.

The commission argued that, in addition to permitting comprehensive savings, these advantages would result from its proposals:

1. It would reduce the number of agencies responsible to the governor from 70 odd to eleven operating departments and six staff agencies, thus making possible the effective direction of the state's administrative program by the governor.

2. It would simplify the structure of the state's executive branch. The public would deal with fewer agencies and delay, lost motion, indecision and lost time would be avoided.

3. It would eliminate unnecessary duplications of work.

4. It would fix responsibilities, functions and activities in more suitable places in the organizational structure.

5. It would "provide more effective service. This would be true with respect to almost every one of the proposed new departments. It would be especially important with respect to the proposed departments of welfare and institutions; conservation and development; labor, industry, and employment security; and public education."

The General Assembly did not adopt all the commission's recommendations. Instead of reducing the 70 separate agencies to seventeen, the 1948 reorganization act provided for about 40 agencies. Most of the advantages listed above have been substantially achieved, however. Substantial savings have been identified. For example, as a result of the internal reorganization of the Department of Welfare and Institutions, the Department of Conservation and Development and the Department of Accounts and Purchases, annual savings of approximately \$1,500,000 were made. More effective service was also made possible.

Reorganization Accepted

Perhaps the largest accomplishment of the Virginia reorganization program came through the acceptance of a new attitude toward governmental reorganization. For the first time in Virginia, and one of the few times in any state, reorganization came to have a dynamic meaning beyond mere statutory juggling. It came to embrace a new approach, a reappraisal, a new set of values. The latter included a greatly increased consciousness of the need for management. The Byrd reorganization of a generation ago went a long way toward improvement. The current reorganization program was aimed at extension and refinement of the earlier efforts, and at correcting the situation that had developed since then.

In his final report to Governor Tuck, Mr. Duke urged that further proposals by the Burch commission be effected. These included:

1. Merger of the Department of Labor and Industry, the Unemployment Compensation Commission and the Industrial Commission.

2. Merger of the Commission of Game and Inland Fisheries, Fisheries Commission and State Water Control Board with the Department of Conservation and Development.

3. Inclusion of all autonomous boards—eight of the seventeen were excluded by the 1948 General Assembly—in the new Department of Professional and Occupational Registration.

4. Reassignment of the functions of the Commission for the Blind—its public assistance program to the Department of Welfare and Institutions and its workshops, rehabilitation and sight-saving classes to the Department of Education.

5. Either abolish the Milk Commission or merge it with the Department of Agriculture.

6. Transfer functions of the Department of Agriculture's food and dairy division to the Health Department to avoid "one of the most flagrant existing duplications in the state government."

7. Merge most functions of the Division of Motor Vehicles into the Department of Taxation. This refers to its revenue collecting activities.

8. Transfer to the Corporation Commission the Motor Vehicle Division's functions on licensing "for hire vehicles" and administering the motor vehicle dealer licensing law.

9. Transfer eye clinics from the Commission for the Blind to the Department of Health.

10. Merge the mental hospital system with the Department of Health. The Burch commission recommended that it be merged with the Department of Welfare and Institutions.

Mr. Duke urged that the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council study several areas of the state government in which he saw "major potentialities for improved efficiency and economy." These include:

1. State use industries. "The present employment opportunities for inmates [of state institutions] are inadequate to keep them fully occupied. Additional outlets for their energies must be developed. It is the opinion of your staff that a well planned program of state-use industries and the integration of the farms into a single farm system would supply this need and also effect savings to the extent of several hundred thousand dollars annually."

2. Coordination of office space and rentals for the many branches of state agencies outside of Richmond would effect substantial savings. He recommended that the Virginia Public Buildings Commission make this study.

3. Abolish special funds, except those of a trust nature such as highway funds, unemployment compensation funds and the like, and consider the conversion of the revenues from special funds, other than trust funds, into the general fund to be appropriated by the General Assembly on the basis of budgetary needs.

4. "An examination of the established policies and procedures governing the administration of the public assistance programs at the local level." He suggested consolidation of local welfare units to reduce administrative costs.

5. An impartial study of the state institutions of higher learning. This was a Burch commission recommendation which was not adopted by the General Assembly and a study that ought to be made by a lay commission appointed by the governor and provided with a competent and adequate technical staff.

6. Laboratory services for various state agencies ought to be coordinated and centralized.

THE DURABLE CITY MANAGER

(Continued from page 338)

Johnson is an employee of Chevrolet and a union man. Dale Lawton, a survivor of the heroic Bataan tank corps, works at Chevrolet. Leo Monaghan works for the Parker Pen Company.

Councilman Mark E. Egbert, now in a transfer and storage business, is a former union man. Waldo Luchsinger from the Parker Pen public relations department was one of the founders of the union at the Chevrolet plant.

Dr. Melville V. Smith, dentist, and Herman Preilipp, automobile dealer, complete the council.

"In the first place you cannot elect a hoodlum or a racketeer in Janesville," says Preilipp, the veteran of the council. "We never have any rows and never a closed meeting.

"Traxler has stayed on the job because he watched the pennies and proved a record of efficiency. There have been times when candidates were elected with the objective of unseating him or giving him trouble. But once on the council and having a good look at the program of harmony, they came around.

"Traxler never waited for a program or plan to catch up with him. He thought out and pushed the plan, all the way from financing to location. If there is one term as to why he has been 27 years on such a vulnerable job it is 'municipal thrift'."

New Hampshire Secures Partial Reorganization

State Administrative Setup Revamped After 165 Years

THE state government of New Hampshire had never once been overhauled in its 165 years of existence when the 1949 legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, authorized Governor Sherman Adams to establish a bipartisan commission of nine to prepare plans for reorganization of the executive branch, the governor to take from these proposals such as he chose for submission to a special legislative session.

The commission was appointed in April 1949, but did not begin work on a major scale until June. Its activities had not proceeded more than three months before the likelihood of extreme opposition to some of its proposals loomed and observers conceded that much of the reorganization program would probably never become law.

Actually, however, the special legislative session concluded May 18th adopted all the major provisions of the reorganization bill as submitted by the governor and struck out only one minor part which would have altered the supervision of a single clerk. Furthermore, the governor, in preparing his reorganization bill, weakened the recommendations of his reorganization commission only in regard to a single state institution and in several other provisions strengthened the proposals.

It seems reasonable to assume that \$500,000 annually can be saved within the next few years and eventually

economies of perhaps twice that much may be possible. It should be realized that this reorganization program is being superimposed on top of substantial cuts made in the 1950-1951 budget, which the 1949 legislature reduced by \$3,700,000. This so-called "austerity" budget had already forced considerable reorganization in many departments.

The reorganization act of 1950 was essentially a compromise. Less was done than some supporters wanted on these items: consolidation in the field of natural resources was avoided and a conference arrangement only was set up; the Soldiers Home was continued in operation; structural consolidation of small departments like Cancer, Veterans Council, Fire Marshal, Aeronautics, Insurance, Banking was not achieved and only 'housekeeping' or clerical savings will be sought.

Nevertheless, certain basic changes are authorized:

1. State highways will be part of a comprehensive Department of Public Works, to serve all using departments on construction and maintenance.
2. The six state institutions, together with Probation and Parole, will be consolidated as to business management into two agencies, a Department of Corrections and a Department of Hospitals.
3. Fiscal consolidation and overall raising of the business management of the government will be achieved through a Department of Administration and Control. The departments of the Comptroller, Purchasing Agent, Personnel, and Buildings and Grounds will be placed within this new department, and two new positions—business supervisor and farm supervisor—will

be created to work particularly with the state institutions.

4. Many small departments will be wholly or in part integrated with larger ones: Alcoholism with Health, Weights and Measures and Milk Control with Agriculture, the fourteen professional examining boards with Health or with Secretary of State.

5. The onerous, petty details which the governor and council now must handle will be assigned to department heads who actually handle them anyway. Ex-officio memberships will be greatly reduced. The number of departments reporting directly to the governor and council is expected to be cut from 83 to about 45.

Reasons for Approval

What caused this final overwhelming approval of New Hampshire's first real reorganization plan?

1. The 1949 legislature appropriated only \$7,500 for the reorganization survey. Almost immediately this clearly became far too little for the bulk of the work to be done by professionals. Princeton Surveys, able consultants for the research study, did the basic analysis and prepared recommendations in about ten of the fifteen areas chosen for consideration. They could not, however, on the small sum available, give the time to check all proposals with department heads and other interested groups, nor could they spend all the time required to prepare proposals on the other five areas. So the governor decided New Hampshire people would have to do the work, and without getting paid for it. He increased the original nine-member statutory commission by setting up an advisory commission of 34 more people. These 43 persons were assigned to fifteen subcommittees, which held some 110 meetings. The

commission itself met 24 times, a full day each.

2. A definitely New Hampshire flavor resulted from this major activity by 43 citizens, and obviously also there were 43 people who were enthusiastic salesmen for reorganization.

3. First meetings of the commission were closed, but the press objected to this secrecy. Furthermore, rumors began to spread about what the commission was doing, many of them in error. It then decided to risk publicity so that the public would have the full truth. Early in the summer the meetings became public and, surprising to many, newspaper publicity on every meeting was front page news. The people wanted to be told and reorganization was our number one story over the past year.

4. The 43 members not only attended all meetings without pay or expense, but they also decided to tell their story to the people. They organized a speakers bureau which over a period of nine months made over 300 speeches.

5. As commission proposals became public, opposition would appear. If this seemed strong the commission would seek it out, sit down with its leaders in friendly fashion and try to hammer out a compromise. As one veteran department head put it: "You fellows settled all your battles without any bloodshed, before the special session was ever held. You lowered everybody's boiling point down to the simmer point. As a result, while some of these people didn't really like the reorganization, they were no longer mad enough to fight about it."

6. A major quality of strength in the commission was its genuine bipartisan nature. The Democratic floor leaders of both House and Senate were members, the 1948 Democratic candi-

date for governor and the Democratic circuit court judge also. Not a single decision was partisan and almost all votes were unanimous. Democrats and Republicans fought side by side not only in commission meetings but in public hearings held last December and in the hearings conducted by the recent special session.

Every newspaper editorial on reorganization was favorable. Governor Adams reinforced this support by twice holding special informative meetings with the publishers and managing editors of every paper in the state, at which he welcomed questions. He not only attended every commission meeting except one but also helped the commission to reach compromises where critical opposition loomed.

A major step in publicizing reorganization was an Institute of Public Affairs held December 16 at the University of New Hampshire. In preparation every major civic organization in the state was reached and a commitment of interest and support obtained. The successful all-day program was climaxed by the first major policy speech on reorganization by Governor Adams.

Since there were no funds for traveling expenses, members of the speakers bureau met their own. Correspondence costs were met by the university, which allocated half the time of its Bureau of Government Research to reorganization problems. Civic organizations aided. The district governor of Rotary International urged all clubs to devote a program to reorganization. The Grange made such a discussion required. The Federation of Women's Clubs and many other groups sought participation by local units.

JOHN D. LANGMUIR, Secretary
New Hampshire Reorganization
Commission

Connecticut Reorganization Minimized by Legislature

The Connecticut legislature ended its special session on state reorganization¹ on May 26 after approving a meager portion of the comprehensive plan submitted by the Commission on State Government Organization. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives adjourned on May 25 after having sent to the Democratic Senate several minor reorganization bills. Those passed by the Senate included one for a separate Public Works Department, a somewhat strengthened Purchasing Division within the Finance Department (one of various agencies dealing with state finances) and one providing a four-year term (beginning March 1, 1951) for department heads and permitting the governor to designate which legislative house he would like to have confirm such appointments. Four still less important bills were adopted.

On May 24 the Republican members of the House voted in caucus to withdraw from the special session. Previously it had seemed that agreements between the leaders of both parties would pave the way for a modest reorganization.

As stated in the New York *Herald-Tribune* for May 25, "In nonpartisan circles the reorganization proposal was believed to have great merit. . . . The organization commission's report found the state's government to be a bewildering thicket of overlapping, autonomous agencies, and called for centralization and streamlining with increased powers for the governor and a new court system. The commission had a Republican majority."

¹See "Broad Reorganization Urged in Connecticut," the REVIEW, March 1950, page 140; "Connecticut Raises a Standard," April, page 170; also April, page 191; June, page 298; editorial this issue page 322.

Reorganization Studies under Way in California

The Senate Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization, created in California in June 1949, has issued its first report on the progress of its work. It does not make definite and final recommendations on reorganization but outlines areas for further study, including boards and commissions, informational services, property management, water resources and tax administration.

As to boards and commissions, proposed studies dealt with clarification of functions and of relationships with related administrative departments and the practice of burdening the governor and certain other state officials with service on many boards.

Studies of informational services look to improvement in the system of preparation, distribution, storage and availability of department reports and publications as well as appraisal of their purposes and worth.

Topics under property management included better purchasing methods, pooling of temporarily surplus departmental equipment and disposal of other surplus equipment; in-service training for storekeepers; and improvement in inventory records.

Coordination of various state agencies interested in water resources is to be investigated; also coordination of the work of soil conservation districts with the Soil Conservation Commission.

As California state revenues come from many sources and are handled by various agencies, studies of consolidated revenue-collecting systems in other states were emphasized.

The California lower house has an Assembly Interim Committee on State Government Reorganization which is cooperating with the Senate committee.

Constitutional Revision Urged in Maryland

The League of Women Voters of Maryland, at its annual convention on May 11, and the Bar Association of Baltimore City, through its executive committee and a special committee on May 24, recommended a favorable vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention at the general election on November 7. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League, spoke at the convention. John E. Bebout, League assistant secretary, addressed an earlier meeting of representatives of various groups.

The Maryland constitution, dating from 1867, requires that every twenty years the question of calling a constitutional convention shall be submitted to the voters; but no subsequent convention has been held.

The constitution has been changed considerably in piecemeal fashion, 59 amendments having been added, one-third of them in the last ten years.

The League of Women Voters stresses the need of home rule for cities and counties, more equitable representation in the legislature, and a rewriting of the constitution in the interests of codification, clarification and elimination of obsolete provisions.

The Bar Association advocates consideration of various specific additional items, including extension of the appointive principle in judicial offices, the proper functions and limitations of the annual legislative session, the governor's power of unlimited veto after adjournment of the legislature, the number of terms for the governor, the necessity for a lieutenant-governor, senatorial confirmation of and minority representation on state boards, prescription of salaries in the constitution, the method of amendment, provisions for initiative

and referendum, budgeting, distribution of taxing powers, and abolition of the orphans' courts.

The Maryland League of Municipalities advocates constitutional revision, chiefly in connection with home rule and better representation.

Constitutional Revision Sought in Oregon

A movement has been started in Oregon for a constitutional convention to revise the state constitution, dating from 1857. Senator Richard L. Neuberger is active in the undertaking.

Arizona to Vote on Constitutional Changes

The Arizona legislature has adopted three resolutions dealing with proposed constitutional amendments to be voted on by the people at a special election on September 12, 1950. One of these would establish a four-year term for state officials, one would institute annual legislative sessions and the third would designate six elective county officers, as well as three elective supervisors, to be elected for four-year terms. The proposals for annual sessions and for four-year executive terms (but with fewer executives) were recommended by the Special Legislative Committee on State Operations.

16 U. S. Reorganization Plans Become Effective

Of the 21 reorganization plans submitted to Congress by President Truman on March 13,¹ sixteen have been allowed to go into effect. The five disapproved included one to give the Secretary of the Treasury full control of treasury functions, includ-

ing that of the semi-independent Comptroller of the Currency; one to strengthen the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture; one to abolish the independent office of general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board; and plans for the Interstate Commerce Commission and Federal Communications Commission that would have enabled the president to designate their chairmen, each of whom would be placed in administrative control of his commission. However, a similar change as to the Federal Trade and Federal Power Commissions was permitted, as with certain other agencies.

A revised plan to give the Secretary of the Treasury full authority over all functions and personnel of his department except for the Comptroller of the Currency is now before Congress. Other pending proposals are to make the chairman of the National Security Resources Board the administrative head of the agency; to transfer the Federal National Mortgage Association—a government-operated secondary mortgage agency—from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the Housing and Home Finance Agency; to transfer the RFC's lending powers in the prefabricated housing field to the HHFA; to transfer the RFC to the Department of Commerce; and to transform the Federal Security Agency into a Department of Health, Education and Security.

The last two proposals are opposed by the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report as contrary to the Hoover Commission's recommendations, which would place the RFC in Treasury and keep health and education separate from the Security Agency, though the latter could properly be elevated to cabinet status.

¹See "21 More Hoover Items Submitted to Congress," the REVIEW, April 1950, page 189.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Delta, Colorado, (1940 population 3,717) voted 751 to 234 on May 23 to adopt a council-manager charter, effective January 1, 1952, following election of a five-man council at the November 1951 election.

The town of **Stoughton, Massachusetts**, at its annual town meeting in March, authorized the moderator to appoint a committee of five to make a study of Stoughton's present town manager government and to file a report with the board of selectmen by November 1, 1950. It is contemplated that more centralized control by the manager will be sought.

The **New Haven, Connecticut**, Citizens Committee for a Council-Manager Charter is expected to petition the board of aldermen for an advisory referendum on the manager plan at the November 7 election. Alderman Norton M. Levine has announced that he will seek the board's approval for appointment of an eleven-man charter commission.

The **Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Intelligencer-Journal** editorializes that, "The manager form of government seems to be the only sensible way. Legislation in Pennsylvania makes that, at the moment, impossible for cities. But it is possible in boroughs and we are certain that, as it grows, not even the politicians will be able to long keep it from the cities and other municipalities."

In **Buena Vista, Virginia**, the *News* is encouraging the idea of a referendum on the question of shifting to the manager plan.

At a mass meeting of over 100 citizens in **Harrisonburg, Virginia**, on May 23 the almost unanimous opinion was that efforts should be made to obtain real council-manager govern-

ment, rather than the present form with a city superintendent of closely limited powers. Petitions were distributed for the purpose of obtaining a referendum on the subject.

The Charter Revision Committee of **Opa-locka, Florida**, is studying the model council-manager charter of the National Municipal League.

The Michigan Municipal League reports that the city of **Harbor Springs** adopted its second council-manager charter on June 6. Two other cities having the manager plan have revision commissions preparing their second manager charters, **Big Rapids** and **Manistee**. The city of **Marquette**, which has been operating as an official council-manager city under an ordinance, has a commission preparing a council-manager charter. The village of **Grosse Pointe Park**, which has operated for some years with the manager plan, has voted to become a city and its charter commission has decided to provide for the manager plan.

A committee of the city council of **East Jordan, Michigan**, is investigating the feasibility of a change to the council-manager plan.

Charter revision is under consideration in **Mason, Michigan**, with the city council reported as in favor of revision to include a "city superintendent."

Several members of the charter commission of the village of **Napoleon, Ohio**, are reported to be favorable to the council-manager plan.

In **Anniston, Alabama**, a study of the manager idea is under way.

The **Biloxi, Mississippi**, Businessmen's Club has authorized a committee to study the manager plan.

Petitions are being circulated in **Grenada, Mississippi**, calling for adoption of the council-manager plan. The *Grenada County Weekly* is advocating the plan.

Natchez, Mississippi, rejected a proposed manager plan charter by a vote of 1,449 to 683 on June 6.

Neosho, Missouri, upheld the manager plan 698 to 670 at a special election on May 16.

In **Hot Springs, South Dakota**, a group headed by Dr. D. W. Sewright is urging consideration of the council-manager plan upon organizations in that city.

The Governmental Affairs Committee of the **Hastings, Nebraska**, Chamber of Commerce is making a study of the manager plan.

The educational committee of the League of Women Voters in **Lincoln, Nebraska**, is collecting and disseminating information on the council-manager plan.

The newly formed City Planning Association in **Chanute, Kansas**, is making a study of the manager plan, with the ultimate objective of bringing the question of its adoption to a vote of the people.

A City Managers' School was held at the University of Kansas April 26-28 and attracted 36 managers from five midwestern states.

Texas managers held their spring meeting May 7-9 at **Kerrville** with 63 attending.

A meeting of 22 **Oklahoma** managers was held May 10-11 at **Oklahoma City**.

The annual conference of the International City Managers' Association will be held in **Houston, Texas**, November 26-30, at the Shamrock Hotel.

Annapolis Annexes Six Times Its Own Area

Annapolis, 300-year-old capital of Maryland and home of the U. S. Naval Academy, has, through the annexation of ten bordering suburban communities, increased its population by about 60 per cent to 25,000, its area by 650 per cent to five and one-half square

miles, and its assessed valuation by 60 per cent to \$21,700,000.

Municipal services will be furnished to the new area and the city tax rate of one dollar, unchanged from Colonial times, will be made uniform throughout the new city.

In accordance with a law recently enacted by the Maryland General Assembly, the citizens of the annexed area alone voted on the annexation proposal. The referendum passed by a majority of 113 votes.

At the same time the suburban voters chose eight new aldermen to represent the four new wards created by the annexation. The new sixteen-member council is now made up of eight Democrats, five Republicans and three independents.

D. BENTON BISER, Director Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc. Baltimore, Maryland

Other Outstanding Annexations

Memphis, Tennessee, recently annexed nineteen square miles and an estimated 25,000 people along the entire east and south sides of the city. The city immediately began providing fire and police protection, bus service and other municipal services, although residents of the area will not pay city taxes until 1951. Annexation action added 68 miles of road to those the city must keep in repair.

The Missouri Supreme Court has upheld the action of Kansas City in annexing nearly twenty square miles. The city had passed the annexation ordinance in September 1948 and municipal services were extended to the new area on January 1, 1950.

Britton, Oklahoma, with a population of 6,000, recently voted to dissolve its city government and become annexed to Oklahoma City.

In Ohio the cities of Fairfield and Osborn were consolidated at the beginning of the current year as the city of Fairborn with estimated population of 10,000. Osborn adopted the council-manager plan two years ago and the new city is operating under that charter and is employing the Osborn manager.

Tarrytown Merger Defeated at Polls

At a special election on June 13 the voters of the village of North Tarrytown, New York, decided 1,782 to 1,219 against merger with the adjoining village of Tarrytown into a single city.¹ The voters of Tarrytown approved the merger 1,429 to 1,183, but consent of both villages was required; furthermore the combined vote was against merger, 2,965 to 2,648.

A city charter drafted for the proposed municipality was approved by the state legislature and signed by Governor Dewey in April.

The village of Tarrytown, though incorporated, is also a part of the town (township) of Greenburgh, and North Tarrytown is a part of the town of Mount Pleasant. As a city one of the advantages would have been complete separation from the towns and their governments.

Virginia Commission to Study Urban Growth

The Virginia legislature has established a commission of eleven members to make a study of the problems of urban growth and their impact upon rural areas; two members are from the Senate, appointed by its president, five from the House, appointed by the speaker, and four from the state at large, appointed by the

governor. It is to consider urban and rural differences relating to annexation, and is to report by October 1, 1951, with recommendations as to state policy to aid the orderly growth of urban areas, ease the impact of such growth on rural areas and assist harmonious integration of contiguous rural areas with urban areas.

By other action the legislature has prohibited the instituting of new city annexation efforts prior to July 1, 1952, except by mutual agreement.

Single Traffic Commissioner Replaces New York Commission

On June 7 Mayor William O'Dwyer signed a New York City local law creating a department of traffic headed by a single commissioner in place of the seven-member city traffic commission. Lloyd B. Reid, former Detroit traffic engineer and consultant to the outgoing commission, was sworn in as commissioner to head the new department.

Appointment of a city parking authority, as authorized at the last session of the state legislature, has been deferred indefinitely, awaiting the results of an engineering survey in progress to determine the financial soundness of erecting five city-sponsored parking garages.

Manitoba Cities Form Organization

In the province of Manitoba, Canada, the Urban Union of Municipalities has recently been organized, to include the larger urban centers such as Winnipeg, St. Boniface, etc. The long established Union of Manitoba Municipalities is reported to be made up chiefly of small units, largely rural, whereas the larger municipalities have different problems. The two organizations are expected to cooperate.

¹See the REVIEW, February 1947, page 93; May 1947, page 275.

Many Attend Inter-American Congress of Municipalities

Nearly 200 municipal officials and others active in municipal matters, from 22 countries of North, South and Central America, attended the Third Inter-American Congress of Municipalities in New Orleans, May 1-5. The five-day congress program focused on problems of housing, planning, traffic and intergovernmental relations in the Western Hemisphere.

Mayor Morrison of New Orleans was elected president of the congress to serve until the next congress meets two years hence in Montevideo, Uruguay. A new constitution was adopted and Canadian municipalities were invited to join the Inter-American Municipal Organization. Dr. Carlos Moran was reelected as secretary-general.

At the closing session of the congress, the delegates unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming their belief that self-governing municipalities endowed with broad powers of political, administrative and fiscal self-determination constitute the most reliable single bulwark of constitutional democracy and freedom under the law. A second resolution urging municipal autonomy advocated strengthening the financial resources of municipalities to permit them to meet their obligations promptly.

Civil Service Assembly Meets in Atlanta

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada will hold its 1950 annual conference at the Atlanta-Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, November 27-30. Previous tentative plans to hold it in Miami, Florida, were abandoned.

The assembly announces that in 1950 almost 95 per cent of all federal employees are in classified civil service, twenty states have compre-

hensive civil service programs, 25 have merit systems for agencies administering federal grants (three including some other departments), 303 out of 808 cities of over 10,000 population have all employees under civil service, 317 have partial coverage and 185 out of 3,069 counties have a merit system.

Stevens Institute Plans Municipal Program

Courses in municipal government will be offered at Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey, beginning with the fall semester, as announced by President Harvey N. Davis. The courses will be part of a four-point program originated under the Department of Management in the Graduate School, which will (1) provide in-service training for municipal government officials, (2) establish the Stevens Bureau of Municipal Research to provide expert guidance for municipal officials, (3) give courses in local government to both graduate and undergraduate students, and (4) eventually provide a graduate program in local government leading to a master's degree in this field. The program was set up after an intensive survey made by Professor Arthur Lesser, Jr., head of the Department of Management, of activities of colleges and universities in the field of local government.

New Public Administration Training Course Offered

Southern Illinois University, at Carbondale, is establishing a new public management curriculum in its department of government for training in public administration at local, state and national levels.

It is expected that training and research facilities will soon be made available for helping to solve administrative problems of state and local officials through student research.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

San Mateo County Retains Manager Plan

Defeats Attempt to Return to Election of Executive

BY A vote of 42,688 to 12,152—over three to one—citizens of San Mateo County, California, on June 6 defeated another attempt to abandon the charter's provision for appointment of a county manager and return to election of the executive.

San Mateo County originally voted for an appointive county executive plan in 1932, for an elective executive in 1935 and a return to the appointive form in 1948, effective in 1951.

A rousing campaign to "Vote 'No' on Proposition A" was conducted by the Citizens Committee for Better Government, which pointed out that the seventeen years under an elective executive have been years of discord. The committee had the support of many of the county's civic groups. The League of Women Voters and other women's groups distributed literature to thousands of commuters at railroad stations. They made house-to-house distribution of leaflets in the newer communities where a large proportion of the voters were newcomers, unfamiliar with the county manager form of government. Such distribution was supplemented by telephone calls and other work by longtime residents. Editorials and cartoons in local newspapers condemned the proposal.

The provisions for change were contained in nine amendments to the county charter. While they failed to repeal the 1948 provision for a return to an appointive manager, the amendments provided for election of the ex-

ecutive in 1952, retained the present elected executive in office until then, and gave him "dictatorial" powers "virtually stripping the supervisors of customary and long established powers over purse and personnel," according to campaign literature. The executive would have been given an increase in salary of \$5,000, frozen into the charter, but salaries of all other elective officials except one would have been reduced.

Montgomery County Wins Achievement Award

The Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada has presented its achievement award this year to Montgomery County, Maryland. Given to a unit of government for outstanding improvements during the previous year, the award was presented, in the form of a plaque, to Alex K. Hancock, director of the county's department of finance, at the association's 44th annual conference in June at Montreal. The plaque reads: "For outstanding improvements in fiscal management, organization, public and financial reporting, including the preparation and installation of a capital budget, the preparation of an assessor's manual, and the compilation and codification of local laws."

Cuyahoga Charter Commission Recommends Strong Mayor

The Cuyahoga County (Ohio) Charter Commission, elected in November, has decided to recommend a strong mayor plan of government. Its proposed home rule charter establishes a county commission of nine with full legislative powers including authority to reorganize county offices, sets up an elective county mayor, abolishes all

other elective offices except that of prosecutor, and vests in the county such municipal powers as sewers, water, public transportation, health, welfare, main highways and airports.

The proposed charter is similar in most respects to that proposed by the Citizens League of Cleveland except that the latter called for an appointive manager rather than an elective mayor.

Four proposals were before the commission: (1) the county manager plan, (2) an elected administrator and prosecutor with a nine-man elected commission, (3) extension of the city of Cleveland to the county line with a single government to be headed by the mayor of the city, and (4) an elected executive to handle the new county-municipal functions such as sewer and water operations with the county government otherwise remaining the same with three elected commissioners and elected department heads.

Virginia County Continues Efforts for Manager Plan

The Fairfax County, Virginia, board of supervisors has recently appointed a 21-member commission to study possible revisions in the county structure. As chairman it appointed David Lawrence, newspaper columnist. Public hearings by the commission have been scheduled during June and July, in which county residents can express their views as to governmental changes necessary.

A petition calling for a referendum on the manager plan already is on file with the circuit court judge. This plan is advocated by the League of Women Voters and it is expected that the question will be on the ballot next November. Until its report is prepared, the commission's members have been asked not to participate actively in organizations either opposing or favoring changes in the county's government.

Baltimore County Circulates Charter Petition

The Baltimore County Charter Petition Committee, appointed by the county commissioners, has begun its circulation of a petition to place the home rule question on the ballot next November. At least 10,000 valid signatures will have to be secured by October 1 to reach this goal.

The committee, as well as the county commissioners, is taking no position on the question of the desirability of a home rule charter. Both groups believe, however, that an expression of public opinion should be secured. As individuals, there are members on the committee who favor and there are those who oppose county home rule by adoption of a charter.

To explain its objectives the committee has issued a leaflet, *The Charter Question*. It emphasizes the desirability of signing the petition, but on the question of a charter it presents the arguments both for and against as well as a neutral position. The arguments for are these:

1. The county has grown to a population of approximately 250,000 and three county commissioners cannot be expected to reflect the opinion and wishes of those who live in thickly settled towns as well as those who live in rural areas.

2. The county should have power to pass its own laws instead of looking to Annapolis for local legislation.

3. All sections of the county should be represented in the law-making body.

4. Under home rule the administrative head of the government can be either the elected president of the county council or an appointed county manager.

5. If the charter is well drawn, there should not only be no net increase in the cost of government but,

(Continued on page 372)

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)***P. R. Continues
in Massachusetts*****Proposed Repeal for Six
Cities Defeated by Senate***

A BILL to abolish P. R. elections in those Massachusetts cities which had adopted it, together with the manager plan, prior to 1949, was defeated on May 16 by a tie vote in the Massachusetts Senate. This action killed repeal legislation at this session. The Senate has recently shown a small majority against P. R. on most occasions while the House has had a small majority in its favor.

The bill, which had previously been passed on second reading,¹ was called by its supporters without debate on May 15 and was then defeated by a 19-19 tie with two senators not voting. After reconsideration was voted 20 to 19 the following day, another vote was taken which again resulted in a 19-19 tie, finally defeating the bill. The measure would have prevented the six cities of Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Revere, Medford and Quincy, as well as the town of Saugus, from continuing to have P. R. elections under their Plan E charters.

The close contest on this bill has focused civic interest on the choice of legislators, especially in the cities which would have been directly affected by the measure.² The Medford *Mercury* reported that the Medford Plan E Association is taking part in a movement to oppose a state senator who voted to repeal P. R. and the

Worcester *Gazette*, after noting with approval that both senators from Worcester voted against repeal, although one of them had to buck all the rest of his party in the Senate to do so, singled out for disapproval three members of the lower house who had voted for repeal and also a few others who, although they did not vote for this measure, voted for last year's law preventing use of P. R. by cities which had not yet adopted it. "We believe Worcester and other cities ought to be allowed to decide the matter for themselves," was its editorial comment.

Discussing the vote, the Haverhill *Gazette* said editorially: "It seems to us a good idea that the legislature finally has defeated efforts to repeal the proportional representation part of Plan E charters. . . . P. R. is one means of improving the quality of persons elected to city councils. This means that P. R. makes it harder for the professional politicians to get elected. Such a system naturally is resented by professional politicians but the voters in general should welcome it."

***King's Supporters Win
Belgian Majority***

Belgium's largest party, the Christian Socialists, obtained a bare majority of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies election on June 4. The method of election was a party list system of proportional representation in use in that country since 1899.

The election was precipitated by the issue of whether to permit the return of King Leopold III, as to which the previous government was un-

¹See the REVIEW, May 1950, page 252.

²See also page 361, this issue.

willing to take action without an election in which the matter was clearly before the voters.

Although the Christian Social (Catholic) party, as in last year's election,¹ fell just short of obtaining a majority of the popular vote, it succeeded this time in securing a majority of the parliamentary seats. This result was promptly reflected in the naming of a cabinet of ministers selected entirely from that party instead of on a coalition basis.

The party is expected to control the upper house of Parliament, which is in part chosen by indirect election and in part by direct election, as it has managed to do in the past few years. This party favors the return of King Leopold whereas most members of the other parties appear to be disposed to the contrary. The results of the election are given below:

BELGIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES,
ELECTION OF JUNE 4, 1950^a

Party	Votes and Percentages ^b	Seats and Percentages
Christian		
Social	2,354,965 (46.7)	108 (50.9)
Socialist	1,804,967 (35.8)	76 (35.8)
Liberal	557,019 (11.1)	21 (10.0)
Communist	234,325 (4.7)	7 (3.3)

^aSlight discrepancies in proportionality are explained by the districting. Figures furnished by Belgian Information Center, New York City.

^bThere were a few scattering votes for candidates not listed in this table.

Austrian Municipal Elections Defeat Communists

Election by a list system of proportional representation of 1,579 municipal councils, covering about four-fifths of the Soviet Russian occupation zone of Austria, resulted in only 5.23

per cent of the 748,798 votes being cast for Communist candidates. In no town or city did the Communist party win control of the municipal council, for in the few places where they obtained a plurality of seats, the Catholic People's party and the Socialists agreed to form a coalition. Soviet interference appears to have been limited to some measures designed to keep the right-wing League of Independents from entering candidates in most communities, according to a United Press dispatch in the *New York Herald-Tribune* on May 8.

The total popular vote by parties differed only slightly from the results in Lower Austria in the nation-wide parliamentary election last October. The Socialists registered a slight gain and the other parties some losses. The May 7 election in Lower Austria was the first municipal election in that area since 1929. The results are summarized in the accompanying table.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, LOWER AUSTRIA,
MAY 7, 1950^a

Parties	Votes and Percentages ^b	Seats and Percentages ^b
People's	389,058 (51.96)	13,462 (64.91)
Socialist	299,323 (39.97)	6,233 (30.05)
Leftist Bloc (Communists and allies)	39,147 (5.23)	307 (1.48)
League of Independents	1,378 (0.18)	12 (0.06)
Others	19,892 (2.66)	722 (3.48)
	748,798	20,736

^aFigures furnished by the Austrian Consulate General, New York City.

^bSince the seats in different municipalities represent constituencies of widely varying sizes, no close correlation between the total votes and total seats of each party is to be expected.

(Continued on page 372)

¹See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 410.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

New Jersey State Tax Commission Reports

*Analyzes Present Situation,
Suggests Changes for Future*

THE New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy recently submitted a report of the "fish or cut bait" variety.

Charged with responsibility to develop recommendations for improving an admittedly archaic state and local tax structure, the commission was assured almost from the outset that any recommendations involving important changes would in no way receive serious consideration at the legislative level. With a long tradition of expedient or even fortuitous solutions to apparently insolvable budgetary problems, New Jersey was about to elect its first governor under its new constitution and both major parties were reluctant to depart from the proven formula of "no new taxes." The commission's directive (J. R. No. 3) was adopted by the 1949 legislature just a little more than one month before the party platforms heralded a campaign in which tax change was definitely not a part.

Against this background the commission's report has been "reduced to an over-all analysis of the present tax situation within the state and the implications of suggested changes that may guide future thinking on the subject."

The commission poses three fundamental questions which must be faced and answered before New Jersey can develop any semblance of a long-range fiscal policy:

1. Does the state of New Jersey

wish to remain predominantly a property tax state or does it wish to shift in part at least to an activity tax base?

2. Does it wish to maintain its major fiscal support at local levels or does it wish to enlarge the responsibility of the state through increased central financing?

3. Does it wish a broad base of individual support for both state and local services or does it wish to draw its major fiscal support from special tax groups — corporation, selective sales and special businesses?

Implications of alternative answers to these basic questions have been explored and seven projects are set forth in the report from which "the legislature may select one or more for consideration at such special or regular session as might be determined." Each project is complete with suggested methods for accomplishing its purpose summarized as follows:

Project 1. To improve the administration of the general property tax in the interest of equity, stability and increased yields.

This will require no new taxes.

Project 2. To balance the state budget for 1951-52 and thereafter without the use of highway funds.

This would require both new taxes and additional revenues to the extent of some thirty million dollars.

Project 3. To remove the inequalities from specially taxed groups.

This will require new tax bases as well as adjustments in present taxes.

Project 4. To remove the hazards of "tax lightning" from the field of business personality.

This may or may not require new taxes.

Project 5. To provide increased

central financing for local governments.

This will require both new tax bases and additional revenues to whatever extent the legislature may determine.

Project 6. To place local governments—counties and municipalities—in a position to finance themselves from bases other than property.

This will require new tax bases, other than property, for the optional use of counties and municipalities.

Project 7. To "relieve" the property tax upon real estate to the extent of some hundred million dollars—about one-third of its present burden.

This will require new tax bases to the extent of the property tax relief.

The commission reiterates its established policy to the effect that, "It cannot express opinions on purely political questions nor will it submit positive recommendations on subjects which have no hope of serious legislative consideration," and concluded, "Should the legislature by resolution or otherwise indicate an interest in a suggested project, the commission is prepared to submit detailed recommendations with accompanying bills."

JAMES A. ARNOLD, JR.

Princeton Surveys,
Princeton, New Jersey

New York City Sales Tax Declines

Presaging the annual difficulties in balancing the budget of the nation's largest city and second largest taxing agency, New York City reported ten months sales tax collections for 1949-50 to be \$5,872,082 below the corresponding 1948-49 period.

For the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, the city's sales tax collections were \$128,527,751, compared with \$134,399,833 in the same months of the preceding fiscal year. For the period, the col-

lections from the sales tax and six other special city taxes amounted to \$155,388,650, a figure \$6,049,185 below corresponding 1948-49 collections.

The sales tax comprises the principal income of the city's so-called general fund which, under the city's accounting set up, is the recipient of the bulk of miscellaneous revenue receipts. In February, the city comptroller had estimated total sales tax revenue for the year at \$131,193,345 and total general fund receipts of \$401,193,639, of which an estimated \$23,000,000 would be available for financing the 1950-51 budget.

The ten months' experience and existing business conditions are held to make it unlikely that the estimates will be realized and this, together with the prospect of continuing higher appropriations, makes likely an advance in the property tax rate. For 1948-49 the basic rate was \$2.89 per \$100 of assessed valuation, as high as any rate levied by the city in previous years, and a rise of 15 to 20 points for 1950-51 has been forecast.

St. Louis Considers Lay-Off of 2,000

Faced with the expiration of its municipal earnings tax on July 17, which was not reenacted by the legislature, and with failure of the governor to call a special session to consider the matter, the city of St. Louis entered June formulating plans to lay off some two thousand city employees to meet the expected revenue loss.¹

According to press reports, the city comptroller stated that the budget of \$39,600,000 would have to be reduced by about \$4,500,000 if the earnings tax is not reinstated. In addition to payroll reductions, curtailment of services would be necessary.

¹See also the REVIEW, May 1950, page 256.

Stamp Tax Counterfeiter Convicted

Counterfeiting, a centuries-old plague of governmental fiscal authorities, apparently is not necessarily of present-day concern only to U. S. Treasury and postal authorities. The *Tax Administrators News* reports that a confessed counterfeiter of New York State cigarette tax stamps was recently sentenced to two and a half to five years in prison for the counterfeit metering of at least two million packs of cigarettes. Taxes evaded amounted to some \$60,000, and penalties to an additional \$30,000. Sentence was suspended on payment of \$22,500 on account of the taxes and penalties and judgment entered against him for the remainder.

Assessors Urge Realistic Valuation Base

The National Association of Assessing Officers, recognizing that the "good old days" are probably gone forever, has through its advisory council recommended that property assessments be geared to present-day cost and price levels. It would countenance discounting of present-day sales prices only to rule out "premiums for immediate occupancy, shelter bonuses," and similar charges.

The continued use by some assessors of prewar yardsticks in fixing assessed valuations has resulted not only in inequalities between properties in the same taxing jurisdiction but to a condition of extreme confusion as between different jurisdictions. Recently, for example, a city in a financial report stated that its 1949-50 assessed valuation represented

approximately 26 per cent of full or true value, and a week later the overlapping school district reported that its valuation represented roundly 50 per cent of full value. Assessed valuations for each unit were made by the county assessor and were identical for property within the city limits, but the city chose to use present-day values as a base and the schools "normal" value, whatever that may be.

Another horrible example, which shall also be nameless here, is an up-state New York community which is in process of finishing a complete revaluation, in which existing properties will be appraised at 1941 price and cost levels and new properties at 1950 price levels, both depreciated for age, etc. The taxpayer here with a new house, commercial building, or factory would appear to be justified in heading courtward for a mandamus to compel the assessor to reduce his assessment.

A relatively large number of communities still report property assessed on the basis of prewar or 1939 or 1941 or 1942 price and cost levels, but among some of these a comparison of prewar assessed valuations, postwar building outlays and postwar assessed valuations with assessed valuations in predepression and depression years indicates that the story fails to hang together. Evidence is plentiful that there are still some situations where "full value" is closer to a 1933 basis than a 1941 or other prewar cost period. It is high time, in other words, that the assessors professionally took cognizance of the confused over-all situation now prevailing.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Kansas City Revives Civic Association

Des Moines, Other Cities Plan Permanent Groups

LED by John B. Gage, former mayor of Kansas City, Missouri, civic-minded voters have organized the Citizens Association of Kansas City, "to keep our nonpartisan form of city government." Mr. Gage, it will be remembered, was first elected to the city council, which chose him as mayor, in 1940 by a citizen uprising resulting in the city's throwing off the yoke of Pendergastism. He is in charge of the group's advisory and finance committee.

Head of the organization is Don Jackson, whom the *Star* describes as one who "came to the front in the last city campaign as a popular young candidate for the city council." Emphasis has been placed on youth. Three of the five officers participated in World War II. When the committee of 30 is completed at least half its members will be young men from the war.

Hugh Robinson, who came out of the army a captain, is executive secretary of the Citizens Association. He has been active in its work and in local politics. He has been in advertising and sales promotion work for several trade magazines.

One of the first official actions of the association was full endorsement of a proposed 38-cent school levy.

Commenting on the newly organized group, the *Kansas City Star* of March 27 had this to say editorially:

"For years the persons who want nonpolitical city government have been

seeking a permanent city-wide association. In the past the citizens group has been more a nucleus than an organization. About three months before the city elections, a few old reliables have started over to rebuild a semblance of a ward and precinct organization for another campaign.

"The approach now is entirely different. The plan is to stir interest in city government. The Citizens Association has only one advance commitment, which is to the nonpolitical type of city administration. It is pledged to no candidates in advance.

"Kansas City's type of government depends on city-wide participation. When enough people know the score there will be little danger of slipping back into the hands of a political organization that wants to use the city hall for political spoils.

"Spreading information city-wide and stirring public interest is a tremendous undertaking. We believe the Citizens Association is now harnessing the latent power that can get the job done."

Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, on a recent visit to Kansas City conferred with leaders of the association and advised them on the operation of civic groups in other cities.

Permanent Group in Des Moines

Des Moines' Committee for Good Government, which sponsored and secured adoption of the council-manager plan for that city,¹ is taking steps to form a new and permanent organiza-

¹See "Des Moines Drops Own Plan," by Katherine R. Stroud, the *REVIEW*, June 1949, page 269.

tion. Suggestions are that the name be changed to the Good Government Association whose objectives would be "to establish a nonpartisan citizens organization which would work to secure local government responsible to the community as a whole."

The *Seattle Municipal News* offers its "congratulations and best wishes to the newly organized Municipal League of Port Angeles [Washington]." Esther L. Yagle is secretary of the group, whose by-laws and organization are patterned after the Seattle Municipal League.

Worcester Plan 'E' Group Expands

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester is girding its loins for bigger and better efforts this fall. Volunteer workers under the direction of James S. Andreson, a director of the association, are seeking to double the membership for a total of 5,000.

Education on the whys and wherefores of Plan E government, now in operation in Worcester, is to be continued. The speakers' bureau will supply speakers for all requirements and four copies of a new film strip and sound recording describing proportional representation are available for demonstration purposes.

The association has appointed a full-time executive secretary, James S. Gratton. Formerly staff reporter of the *Worcester Evening Gazette*, Mr. Gratton has long been interested in good government. He has been writing stories on Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council and school board—since 1948. His appointment, says the association's *Citizens' Plan "E" Planner*, is an "experiment to determine what full-time, energetic direction can accomplish in our volunteer organization."

One of the most momentous decisions of the association is its resolution to take active part in state legislative elections this fall. Like similar groups elsewhere in the state, the association has been appalled at efforts of the state legislature to "wreck the Plan E charter."¹ Election of candidates pledged to support the system would help guarantee its continuance. Officials of the association met recently with ten state legislators representing Worcester to discuss Plan E and proportional representation.

Other Cities Campaign

Because he voted to kill the proportional representation feature of Plan E, a coalition of three civic groups, including the Medford Plan E Civic Association, will oppose the reelection of State Senator James J. Corbett of Somerville at the November election. A Somerville World War II veteran, Paul J. Greeley, is being groomed to run against him, reports the *Medford Mercury*.

Senator Corbett represents certain parts of Cambridge, which has used P. R. in connection with its Plan E government since 1940, and Somerville, which voted to adopt Plan E with P. R. last year but which cannot use the latter feature because of legislation forbidding its use for all cities but those adopting it previously.

Many other citizen groups in Massachusetts have been lending their support to Plan E. The League of Women Voters of the state lists as a continuing responsibility "support and extension of council-manager government with proportional representation for cities and towns. The Massachusetts Civic League sent a copy of a statement by Fairman C. Cowan, chairman of its forms of government

¹See the REVIEW, April 1950, page 200; May 1950, page 252.

committee, to every newspaper in the state protesting Senate action in denying Massachusetts cities the right to adopt Plan E as placed on the statute books. The statement points to the amazing progress of Cambridge under Plan E, citing the cities which, because of its example, have also adopted the plan.

* * *

State Constitutions Scored

Does Ohio's Century Old Constitution Meet Today's Needs? is the question asked by the League of Women Voters of Cincinnati in a six-page folder being widely distributed. At its conference in May the state league adopted as part of its program, "Working for a favorable vote in November 1952 on the question of calling a state constitutional convention." This action followed two years of intensive study by leagues throughout the state.

The League of Women Voters of Maryland is renewing its efforts for constitutional revision. It has been presenting a skit on the subject around the state and recently issued *Comparative Analysis of the Maryland Constitution of 1867 and the Model State Constitution*¹ (19 pages, 25 cents), prepared by John A. Curtiss, a recent graduate of the University of Maryland.

On the theory that half a loaf is better than none, the so-called "gateway" amendment to the Illinois constitution was supported by Senator Thaddeus V. Adesko at a forum arranged by the Constitutional Revision Committee of the Chicago City Club. The proposed amendment, to be voted on in November, would permit propositions to amend three articles of the constitution to be submitted to referendum at any one time, whereas the

present provision permits submission of one only. Professor Kenneth C. Sears, of the University of Chicago Law School, said he would vote for the proposal without enthusiasm. He pointed out the need for more adequate action, saying that Illinois has a backlog of a hundred or more needed constitutional changes.

* * *

And Now Television

Cincinnati leads the way with its civic and city government programs on television. The radio committee of the Good Government League of Hamilton County is conducting a series of television programs along the lines of its "Cincinnati's Town Meeting of the Air." Each Sunday, from 12 to 12.30, the program is presented over WCPO-TV and then recorded for radio broadcast at 8.30 P.M. Wednesdays. The first showing was "Religion's Contribution to Government," which featured a panel of University of Cincinnati students.

Each Saturday at 6.15 P.M., Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati and his city hall staff present typical scenes from their daily round of engagements and activities over television station WLW-T. Audience reaction to the shows has been excellent, reports the Cincinnati City Charter Committee.

"Around the Crackerbarrel," radio program of the Seattle Municipal League, has been given a new time, 9.45 P.M. Mondays, and is scheduled for a full fifteen minutes. KOMO, the station over which the Crackerbarrel series is broadcast, has been receiving a large volume of mail, particularly around election time, indicating much listener interest. As a new feature of the program, reports the *Seattle Municipal News*, Paul Seibert, information director of the league, is interviewing a key public figure each week.

¹The *Model State Constitution* is published by the National Municipal League, New York (1948), \$1.

Potpourri

The Danville, Virginia, committee which conducted the recent successful campaign for the council-manager plan is sponsoring a slate of nine candidates for the city council which will inaugurate the new government.

The Chicago City Club was much concerned with the success of the first use of voting machines in most of that city's election districts at the April 11 primary. Brian J. Ducey, financial consultant and secretary of the Joint Civic Committee on Elections, gave a talk on the subject before the club and showed a 20-minute sound film, "Chicago's First City-wide Test of the Voting Machine," as part of an educational program on the subject. Members of the club were asked to serve on election day as judges and clerks.

The Toledo Municipal League, in its *Toledo Municipal News*, points out the pros and cons of the voting machine question. The county board of elections has been given authority to try out a token number of the machines in a few election districts.

Four new neighborhood councils have been organized in Kansas City, bringing the number of community and neighborhood councils up to 61.

Only 35 per cent of its members voted in both the primary and general election last year, discovered the Danville, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce. The chamber made the survey in an effort to stimulate greater participation in 1950 local elections.

The *Civic League Reporter* of the Lake County, Illinois, Civic League, reports that there were far more citizens in attendance at town meetings adopting budgets than ever before in the history of the county.

Conferences Past and Coming

The annual Institute of Government of the University of Washington, held

for the past fifteen years, will meet this year July 10-14. One of the sessions will be devoted to a discussion of "Problems of Citizens Associations," led by Professor Hugh A. Bone, of the university's political science department, and divided into four sections: types of citizen organizations, membership and organizational problems, determination of policy, and financial and public relations problems. Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services of the National Municipal League, is scheduled to speak.

The annual Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan, at Michigan State College, was scheduled to run for three weeks, July 5-22. This is a "summer course for teachers and prospective teachers of civics, government and social studies and interested citizen groups." Numerous organizations and educational institutions will cooperate including the Michigan Municipal League, University of Michigan and Wayne University. State and local government officials will act as instructors.

The American Planning and Civic Association, with the American Institute of Planners cooperating, held its National Citizens Conference on Planning for City, State and Nation on May 12-17 at Washington. The conference was a feature of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the city as the seat of the national government. Topics for speakers and round table discussions included zoning and the citizen, citizen organizations for planning, urban redevelopment procedures, citizen service on planning commissions, rural roadsides, decentralization of cities, unified planning and administration for metropolitan areas, slum clearance, a federal department of natural resources and many others.

"Citizenship — Everybody's Job" was the theme of the 1950 conference

of the New Jersey Association for Adult Education at Rutgers University. A morning panel on "Citizenship Responsibilities," luncheon and dinner meetings, and seven afternoon discussion groups marked the day's program.

The annual meeting of the Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan, discussed "Recreational Opportunities in Port Huron" at a panel session. Those taking part included the Port Huron director of recreation and the chairman of the city Recreational Board.

Strictly Personnel

The Massachusetts League of Women Voters memorializes the passing of Alice Stone Blackwell at the age of 93. Daughter of Lucy Stone, Miss Blackwell had been honorary president of the league for many years. "A writer of distinction," says the league's *Bulletin*, "she used her pen to serve humanity and her organizing ability and eloquence to further the cause of women's suffrage."

A 70-member group which is seeking a referendum vote on the council-manager plan in Omaha has appointed W. Dean Vogel, vice president of the Live Stock National Bank, to head a fund-raising drive for an educational campaign.

Douglas Cole has been elected president of the Young Charterites, a group affiliated with the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. He succeeds Harris Weston.

The Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning has appointed John T. Mladjen as its new civic director. Mr. Mladjen, who has been granted a year's leave of absence by the city's Board of Education, has spent three years promoting neighborhood plan-

ning studies throughout the school system and supervised the public school contribution to the Better Philadelphia Exhibit. Miss Cornelia Hahn, formerly with the Regional Plan Association of New York, has joined the council's staff as community planner.

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, first woman mayor of Yonkers, New York, was honored at a testimonial dinner addressed by Charles P. Taft, son of the late President Taft and city councilman of Cincinnati. Mrs. Welty was presented with a jeweled replica of the Yonkers Citizens Union insignia which bore the inscription, "Yonkers' No. One Citizen, Edith P. Welty." The presentation was made by Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman*, who commented, "You have to admit one thing about Edith Welty—whether they love or hate her, they're always absorbingly interested in what she says or does."

The Seattle Municipal League has elected Paul R. Green as its president for 1950-51. He succeeds John N. Rupp, who continues as a member of the Board of Trustees. The *Seattle Municipal News* carries "Our Thanks to John Rupp," saying, "In his two years as league head, retiring President John N. Rupp willingly gave of his time and abilities—although it often meant the burning of midnight oil and the sacrificing of home life and pleasures. And the league's continued growth and record of accomplishment in the past two years are testimonials of a job well done."

The Board of Directors of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League has elected Ben O. Stoner as president, succeeding Grauman Marks.

Prescriptions for Better Legislatures

*Aristotle on California;
Hallie Farmer on Alabama*

PROFESSOR John A. Vieg has turned a neat trick in having the Governor of California summon Aristotle from his "long slumber at Chalcis" with the result that *Western Political Quarterly* for September 1949 carried the following item (also available in six-page reprint): "Aristotle on California: A Consultant's Report," synopsis by John A. Vieg.

This "first report" deals with two problems, "institutionalizing electoral responsibility" and "institutionalizing legislative responsibility."

As background for recommendations on electoral responsibility, the consultant points to "two apparent truths generally ignored or overlooked in popular government: (1) Democracy must take its people as they are. (2) Its basic forms and processes should be devised with a primary view toward helping *those who care* to be effective in their citizenship. Democracy does not depend on the proposition that everybody cares about the common good. If it did it would have gone under long, long ago. It rests rather on the proposition that those who do care are entitled, in the measure of their caring, to the opportunity of promoting the common good—and guarding it."

In the case of California, the consultant concludes that these truths support a proposed reform of the direct primary which would, among other things, abolish cross-filing, authorize political parties to hold pre-primary

conventions and provide for a single consolidated primary ballot. In a different context the consultant might well have commended these truths for special contemplation by anyone inclined to support constitutional and other provisions that make it necessary to attain extraordinary majorities for constitutional or charter revision and the like. Such requirements are clearly designed not to help but to prevent "those who care from being effective in their citizenship."

In order to institutionalize legislative responsibility the consultant makes a number of recommendations "justified by extensive research and analysis . . . by members of the American Political Science Association." These include revision of the state constitution "so that the ordinary citizen can understand it as readily as he does the federal constitution," merger of the Senate and the Assembly into a representative unicameral legislature or reapportionment of the Senate so that the voters "will be neither tempted nor obliged to make wholesale use of the initiative," lengthening of the terms of legislators to four years, giving the "governor the prerogative, once every two years, in case of deadlock between himself and the legislature, of dissolving the legislature and calling for new elections," and otherwise improving the governor's chance of providing political leadership by shortening the ballot and giving him a deputy to relieve him of managerial duties and "free him for unhurried consideration of questions of high policy."

The consultant concludes with a warning that failure to heed the need for such institutional changes to meet

modern conditions would ultimately "even in California, with all its resources," mean that "state government will so disappoint the people that, despite the dangers involved, they will turn repeatedly to Washington."

A number of similar conclusions as well as many other findings of general significance to students of the legislative process in American states are set forth in the most thorough study of any single state legislature yet published, *The Legislative Process in Alabama*, by Hallie Farmer.¹

This book, the culmination of fifteen years of intensive and thoughtful study of the Alabama legislature since 1903, is a mine of information and wisdom for all students of American government. Anyone who fears federal centralization or executive dictatorship should ponder it prayerfully and check his own legislature for its capacity to meet current needs.

Professor Farmer points out that the Alabama legislature of 1943 was for all practical purposes the legislature of 1903—"A white, male, Protestant, provincial legislature dominated by lawyers." This legislature, like most other American legislatures, has violated the constitutional duty of reapportionment and there appears to be no likelihood of action until or unless industry becomes important in many more counties.

The legislature has made some improvements such as the recent establishment of a Legislative Council and the streamlining of committees in the lower house. But it is hampered by the provincialism and inexperience of its own members who are more interested in local legislation than they are in the over-all problems of the state,

by the incompetence of its staff, recruited by the spoils system, by its bicameral structure and by certain other constitutional limitations, notably the limitation on sessions.

Such efficiency and direction as there are in the legislative process result largely from executive leadership. By consent of the legislature, the governor generally chooses the speaker of the House, the president pro tem of the Senate and the chairman and members of major committees. Moreover, the governor has power, in vetoing measures, to suggest amendments, a matter of great importance in view of the frequency of technical, constitutional and clerical defects in the bills that go to the governor.

In an exceptionally good brief concluding chapter on "An Effective Legislature," Professor Farmer summarizes her principal findings. She points out that "probably the major defect in the legislative machinery of Alabama is one which it shares with 46 other states; Alabama has a bicameral legislature." She shows specifically how each of four arguments ordinarily advanced to justify the bicameral system is vitiated by the facts in her state.

A review of the problem of legislative apportionment, with primary attention to the reapportionment of Congress after 1950 and some incidental but significant reference to the same problem in state legislatures, is presented in *Legislative Apportionment*, by R. K. McNickle (Editorial Research Reports, Washington, D. C., 19 pages, one dollar).

1950 GRA Conference

Roy V. Peel, director of the Bureau of the Census, will be the banquet speaker at the 1950 conference of the Governmental Research Association at the Berkeley-Carteret Hotel in As-

¹Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1949, 363 pages.

ury Park, New Jersey, September 6, and 8. Dr. Peel will use the occasion for a significant discussion of findings of the 1950 census relating to problems of state and local government.

Alvin A. Burger, of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce and the National Council of State Chambers of Commerce, will speak at the opening luncheon.

Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration, will discuss governmental reorganization at a luncheon meeting. His speech will be preceded by a general morning session on reorganization of state and local governments.

The theme of the conference, "Governmental Research in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century," will be developed through the featured speeches and round table discussions of such matters as federal-state-local fiscal relations, metropolitan area problems, public assistance policies and administration, problems of running a bureau and school surveys.

The program committee is stressing the value of the opportunity afforded by the conference for making and renewing acquaintances and for informal discussions among persons with common problems. The program committee is headed by Leslie M. Gravin, director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, which corresponds to the American Society for Public Administration, has issued its 1949 *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference*, held at the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec, Philip T. Clark, editor, 256 Roxborough Street East, Toronto, 210 pages.

Among the subjects discussed are training and recruitment for public service, provincial sales tax, public

administration as a profession (address by Luther Gulick), joint dominion-provincial administration and the role of the institute.

The Institute of Public Service of Boston University has announced inauguration of training programs for state and municipal employees in four specific fields of specialization: public administration, municipal administration, financial administration and personnel management and supervision. The institute, which is under the direction of Dr. Lashley G. Harvey, is also prepared to offer special classes to serve particular needs of groups of public employees and to conduct short courses or training schools for such groups.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Dr. Rodney L. Mott, on leave of absence as director of the division of social sciences at Colgate University, has accepted a temporary appointment as United States specialist on local government in Germany.

On leave as executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations, John D. Langmuir has been made temporary administrative assistant to Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire for the specific purpose of aiding the governor in putting into effect the newly voted state reorganization law.¹

Albert J. Richter, formerly of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, has been appointed director of the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research to take effect July 1.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budget

Budget Backgrounds. (Covering city and board of education budgets)

¹See page 344, this issue.

and personnel costs.) Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, April 17, May 1, 15 and 29. 2 pp. each.

Saving Money in Procedure. The League Reports on Pittsburgh's Tightened Budget Control and Procurement. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, April 1950. 6 pp.

Codification

Survey of Recodification Problems in Nevada. Carson City, Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau, April 1950. 31 pp.

Debt

Buffalo's Bonded Debt. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, May 4, 1950. 3 pp.

Postwar Trend in State Debt. A State-by-State Analysis. New York City, Tax Foundation, 1950. 26 pp. Tables.

Directories

A Directory of Federal and State Officials in South Dakota. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau, 1950. 32 pp. Chart.

Education

City Schools Up 12.15 Per Cent Over 1948. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer*, May 1950. 1 p.

Counting Noses for Dollars. The League Reviews the Per Capita School Taxes in Allegheny County. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, May 1950. 14 pp.

Education Cost per Pupil Climbs Steadily Upward in City School Districts. Inflation and Drop in Ratios of Pupils to Teachers Are Responsible. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, April 1950. 1 p.

Flint Board of Education. 1950 Capital Outlay Program. Flint, Michigan, Civic Research Council, 1950. 15 pp. Tables.

Poughkeepsie High School. A Plan for Action! Poughkeepsie, New York, Area Development Association, 1950. ii, 29 pp.

Public School Finances Are Complicated. Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer*, April 1950. 4 pp.

Ratio of Pupils to Teachers Continue Decline in 1948-49 School Year. Study Reveals Number of Teachers Is Increasing More Rapidly Than Pupils. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, May 1950. 1 p. 10 cents.

School Tax Rates. Teachers Salaries. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, June 1950. 5 pp. each. Tables. 25 cents.

Teachers' Salaries. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, April 1950. 2 pp.

Elections and Voting

How Toronto Voted. Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, April 6, 1950. 6 pp.

Fire Protection

City Improves Fire-Alarm System. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 1, 1950. 3 pp.

Holidays

Election Day, April 4th—Another Holiday for Public Employees. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, April 1, 1950. 1 p.

Hospitals

Tennessee Hospital Plan — Three Years' Progress. By Lucy McMurry. Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, *Tennessee Planner*, April 1950. 8 pp.

The Salt Lake County Hospital. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1950. 6 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

Committee on Metropolitan Problems. First Report, Section Two, (Contains much of the statistical and

analytical material upon which Section I—see April 1950 *Review*—was based. Includes governmental, economic and social data on each municipality in the area). Toronto, Civic Advisory Council, 1950. xii, 258 pp.

Municipal Government

Trends in City Government—"The Disease of Decentralization." Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, *Bulletin*, April 1950. 4 pp.

Municipal Reporting

Your City Can Issue a Modern Annual Report. By Pan Dodd Wheeler. Nashville, *Tennessee Town and City* (Supplement), May 1950. 4 pp. (Published for Municipal Technical Advisory Service, Division of University Extension, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.)

Pensions

Reviewing the City's Pension System. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, May 25, 1950. 6 pp.

Personnel

Provisional Appointments — 1948-1949. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 16, 1950. 3 pp.

Public Libraries

The Library and the Public. Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, Fourteenth Annual Institute of Government, 1949. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with The Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1950. 11 pp.

Public Welfare

Public Welfare and Charities. Fall River, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin*, April 1950. 3 pp.

Relief Administration in Detroit. Detroit, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bureau Notes*, April 13, 1950. 2 pp.

Summary of the Report on Monroe County Welfare. Rochester, New

York, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Bulletin*, February 1950. 4 pp.

Welfare Administration in Providence. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, April 1950. 2 pp.

Rent Control

City Rent Commission Has Handled 20,000 Cases. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, May 23, 1950. 3 pp.

Streets and Highways

Assessing the Costs of Street Improvements. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, June 1950. 2 pp.

Report Describes Highway Systems, Use, Costs, Studies Future Expenditures. (Summary of Griffenhagen report.) Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, March 1950. 1 p.

Taxation and Finance

Cost of Government in Canada. Dominion Government Expenditures. Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, May 19, 1950. 5 pp.

Local Government Finances in Maryland, 1949. Second Report to the Governor and the General Assembly of Maryland. Baltimore, State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1950. 52 pp. Charts, tables.

Local Taxes, 1945-49. By James W. McGrew. New York City, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Notes and References*, May 23, 1950. 5 pp. Tables.

Training

Research and Intern Training. Scoville Pioneers in Los Angeles County. By Edwin A. Cottrell. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest*, May 1950. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Books in Review

Southern Politics in State and Nation. By V. O. Key, Jr., assisted by Alexander Heard. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. xxvi, 675 pp. \$6.

This important source book has been given the American Political Science Association's award as the best work of the year in political science. A Rockefeller Foundation grant gave the author time, staff and travel facilities for three years in the field, enough in itself to lift it above the numerous rearrangements of oft-printed facts which come this way for review. After unsuccessful attempts to get a free review copy of this book, we rendered the supreme tribute and were well rewarded.

The abundant material is almost all new and, for a generation, every further work on American politics will be speckled with footnotes referring to this one. Professor Key devotes each of the first eleven chapters to an account of the politics of a state, the rest being a series of interstate comparisons, topic by topic, of the numerous unique factors which set off the politics of the south from that of the rest of the country but which operate diversely in neighboring southern states, for reasons not always easy to explain.

The pictures of wide-open scrambles for the party nomination by self-seeking dramatic individuals is in line with the miniature fracas seen in some of our western cities under nonpartisan ballots when there is no local attempt at organized constructive leadership; the Model Primary Election System of the National Municipal League (of which Professor Key is a sponsor) looks as if it could fill a long-felt want down there by requiring the party managers to lead

off with a set of nominations subject to possible subsequent contest by other groups or individuals after the proposed organization ticket has been submitted. Simple scrambles for office without leadership are common—and feasible—in small nonpartisan cities, but are seen here as less edifying on a statewide scale.

Virginia is the one southern state with stable leadership—the Byrd machine, respected and conservative in a conservative light-voting constituency. The state enjoys the most simplified structure of government in the country but the situation would, we learn, be improved by removing remote control of county salaries from the hands of whichever group is in power at the state capitol.

The work is well timed to bring in fresh news of (1) the effect of the Supreme Court decision removing barriers to Negro voting in the Democratic primaries and (2) the impact of the Dixiecrat rebellion of 1948.

R. S. C.

An Aid to Charter Drafting. Council-Manager Government. Hartford 3, The Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, 1950. xi, 121 pp. Mimeographed.

Brief, lucid draftsmanship, in accord with Connecticut law, traditions and special conditions, of appropriate legal provisions of a model special charter act of the legislature. Alternatives are supplied relating to town meetings, representative town meetings and partisan or nonpartisan elections. Prepared for use by Connecticut citizens, its distribution is limited.

Reports of Committee for Kentucky 1943-50. Louisville, Committee for Kentucky, 1950. Variouslly paged.

The complete bound set of the committee's twelve reports on the state's condition in various aspects and what needs to be done to lift the state to a higher ranking. It includes the twelfth report, *Blueprint for a Greater Kentucky*, described in the REVIEW in April 1950, page 207.

Simplified Municipal Accounting. A Manual for Smaller Governmental Units. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1950. xii, 162 pp. \$2.25.

This is a practical working manual specifically designed for use by smaller governmental units. Accounting forms, principles and procedures, accounts and records to be used are presented in a simplified, easily understood manner with numerous illustrations.

A Hook in Leviathan. A Critical Interpretation of the Hoover Commission Report. By Bradley D. Nash and Cornelius Lynde. New York, Macmillan Company, 1950. xiii, 234 pp. \$3.

A tightly written account of the two million word Hoover report in about thirty thousand words, including some thoughtful commentary and the conclusion, "No citizen should rest until these objectives have been won."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Criminal Justice

Sources for the Study of the Administration of Criminal Justice. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Sacramento, Special Crime Study Commissions and the California State Board of Corrections, 1949. 294 pp.

Debt

The Public Debt: 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, April 1950. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Statistics of Local Units of Government Bonded Indebtedness as of June 30, 1947. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1950. 17 pp.

Ecology

Human Ecology. A Theory of Community Structure. By Amos H. Hawley. New York City, Ronald Press Company, 1950. xvi, 456 pp. \$5.

Gambling

Gambling. Edited by Morris Ploscowe and Edwin J. Lukas. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, May 1950. viii, 209 pp. \$2.

Health

Alcoholism as a Health Problem. By Liquor Problems Section. San Francisco 19, The Commonwealth Club of California, *The Commonwealth* (Part Two), April 24, 1950. 44 pp. 25 cents.

Long Beach Hospitals 1950. Construction, Beds, Financing, Future. By Mayor and Council's Hospital and Health Committee. Long Beach, California, The Committee, 1950. Various-ly paged.

Municipal Government

Guide to the Municipal Government of the City of New York (sixth edition). By Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 7, Record Press, Inc., 1950. vii, 166 pp. \$1.50.

Personnel

City Employment in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1950. 37 pp.

Personnel Manual. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Personnel Department, 1950. 65 pp.

Recreation

Recreation in California. No. 1: Institutes for Recreation Leaders; No. 2: Laws Relating to Recreation; No. 3: First Annual Report to Governor; No. 4: First California Recreation Conference; No. 5: Standards for Professional Recreation Personnel; No. 6: Second Annual Report to Governor; No. 7: Second Annual California Recreation Conference. Sacramento 14, State of California Recreation Commission, 1948, 1949 and 1950. Variously paged.

Types of Recreation Managing Authorities by Population Groups. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1950. 9 pp. 50 cents.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 354)
through improved efficiency of operations, the taxpayer should get more for each local tax dollar collected.

Canadian Province Considers County Government

The province of Alberta, Canada, is considering adoption of counties for the government of its rural areas. The plan, sponsored by the provincial government, is to create a county government of the same area as the school district or as several municipal districts. At the head would be an eleven-member county council with full authority over the usual governmental services including schools and hospitals.

PROPORTIONAL

REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 356)

85 Danish Cities and Towns Hold P. R. Elections

The March 1950 elections in some 85 cities and towns of Denmark reduced the number of seats won by the Communists to 24, as contrasted to

74 in the corresponding elections of 1946. Another interesting development was the increase in the seats won by the Justice Union (single tax group) from one to 50. The list system of proportional representation has been used in local elections in Denmark since 1908. Seats obtained for the various parties in the last two elections are set forth below:

DANISH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, 1946 AND 1950 ^a		
Party	Seats 1946	Seats 1950
Social Democratic	590	586
Radical Liberal	60	61
Conservative	250	285
Liberal	145	128
Justice Union (Single Tax)	1	50
Communist	74	24
Coalition Lists and Unpolitical	147	155

^aFigures are those of the Danish Information Office, New York City, as published by *The American City*, June 1950.

More Private Groups Use Hare System

Ohio State University and the University of Vermont have adopted P. R. for student council elections and Elizabethtown College, at Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, is about to do so, according to information from George Howatt of Lehigh University.

The League of Women Voters of Summit, New Jersey, at its annual meeting in May, selected its current agenda item by the Hare system of preferential voting. There were six items to choose from but since it was desired to have only one item on the agenda, the counting of the Hare system votes involved only the determination of a majority choice. In addition, two counts by P. R. were also carried out to inform the membership which two and which three subjects would be selected if it were desired to have two or three items on the agenda for the coming year.